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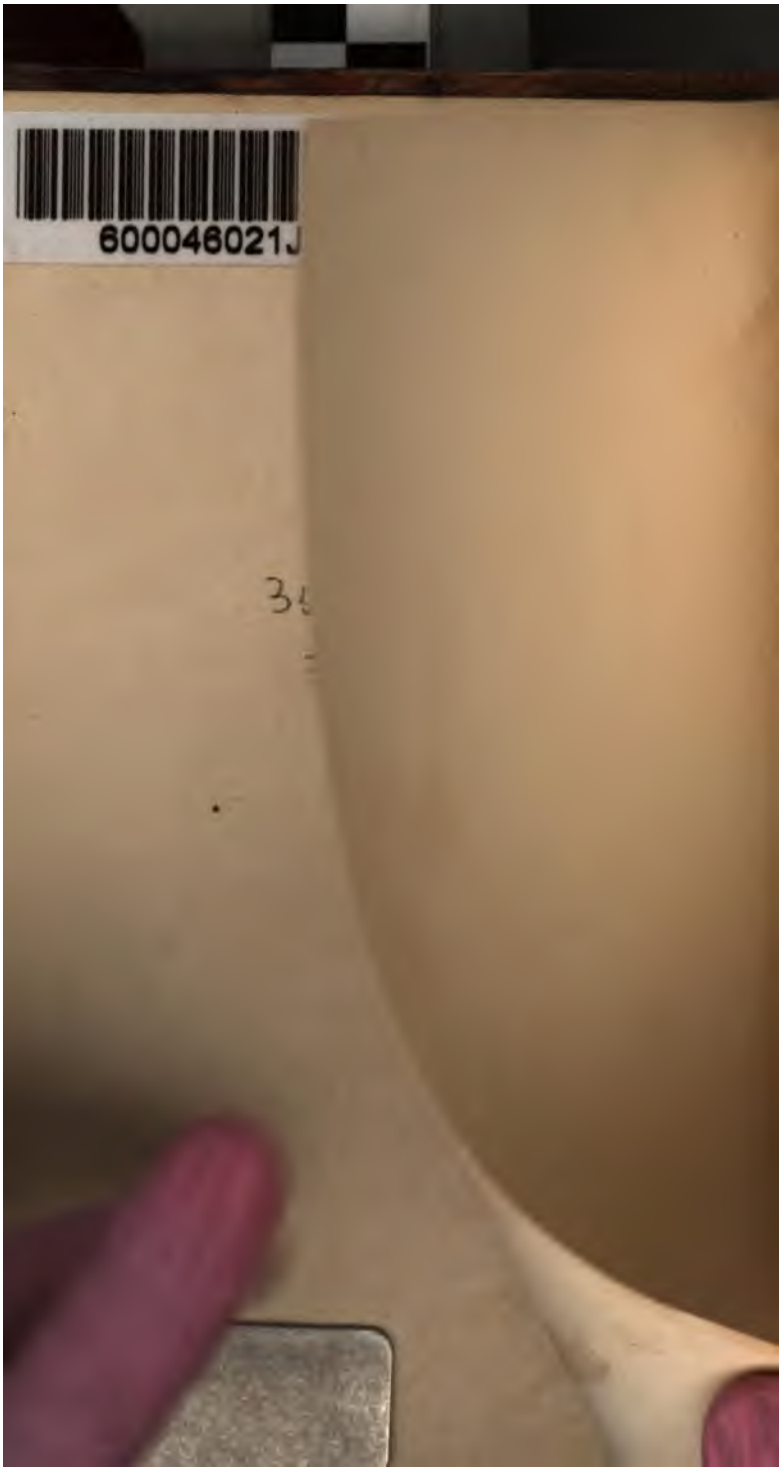
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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
HISTORY.





ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

HISTORY.





HISTORY

OF THE

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES,

ILLUSTRATED BY

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

43

BY

FREDERICK VON RAUMER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
MDCCCXXXV.

370.



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE work of which the following pages are a translation, is the result of enquiries conducted in the manuscript collections of the Paris Library, by one whose name will be, to every German scholar, in itself, security for merit both of conception and execution. The object of the Translator is simply to place at the disposal of the English historical enquirer, the results of the labour which the distinguished author of the history of the Hohenstauffen family has condescended to bestow upon a task, humble perhaps, when considered with reference to his abilities and reputation as an original writer, but the execution of which imposes an obligation upon the literary world. It is obvious that any merit to which the following pages can pretend, must consist exclusively in the value of the information they contain in illustration of the history of the periods, countries, and persons to which they refer.

The quaintness, the peculiarities, and the force of original phraseology, which add so much to the attraction of works like the selections of Mr. Ellis, even if partially transfusible into a first translation, are not to be looked for in a second; and a portion of the value of the originals which suffered diminution in Mr. Raumer's hands, has been, undoubtedly, nullified in those of a translator. In addition to the above deficiencies, these volumes are incomplete as regards the work of Mr. Raumer, inasmuch as various extracts from the copies of the Cottonian MSS. existing in the Paris collection, are here omitted. The object of Mr. R. was to place at the disposal of his countrymen, sources of historical information not accessible to their researches. The Translator's object is the same, and he has therefore omitted nearly all of the extracts from documents, the originals of which are to be inspected at the cost of a visit to our own Museum. They appeared to him to form no essential portion of Mr. Raumer's volumes, and at the same time, reference to the originals led him to the conclusion, that the task of making the extracts would tempt any one who undertook it, into a field of further research, which it would be far better to explore separately and more fully, if at all.

A few notes have been added by the Translator,

not with the object or pretension of affording any very valuable, or recondite, or ample information on the events or persons to which they refer, but for the mere purpose of assisting memory, or saving casual labour of reference to the reader. With this view, they have rather been appended to passages with which the mass of English readers may be presumed to be least familiar, than to those with which the ordinary course of historical study must have made nearly all acquainted.

FEBRUARY, 1835.



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LETTERS

FROM

PARIS.

LETTER I.

DDRESSED TO LUDWIG TIECK.

Preface and Dedication.—Reasons for the Epistolary Work, and the Scantiness of the Collectanea. reception in Paris.—Distribution of the Materials.

hen in pursuance of your advice, and that t sent the letters of my journey to the press quick; I shall, however, without doubt, give k thereby to many. The publication of my [illegible] in Paris requires less considera-

and isolated passages into a connected history, nor could I without great diffuseness and extravagant loss of time, append the necessary supplementary matter. I therefore hit upon the idea of distributing my materials into a series of letters, which, indeed, but half deserve that title, but which present various advantages and conveniences. Thus, for example; that I can begin and end just where the relative quantity of my matter indicates, and in writing to you, can address myself as to a reader well acquainted with history, and competent to understand and classify every thing without notes of explanation. In any case, you will recognize in the act of my dedicating these letters to you, a proof of old and faithful friendship,—though such be unnecessary.

With very few exceptions, necessary for the connection of the work, my communications are extracted from manuscripts totally unknown, especially from those of the Royal Collection at Paris. I found there so remarkable an attention to my wishes, such inexhaustible patience for my troublesome applications, that I must return my heartiest thanks to the gentlemen officially employed in that establishment, and especially to Monsieur Champollion Fiegeac, for having disclosed to me treasures, of the existence of which I was not aware.

If, nevertheless, my results be less extensive and

important than you, and others perhaps, expected, you must reflect, 1st, that some very illegible MSS. cost much time, and that others disappointed all expectation: 2d, that I could not altogether neglect the present times, important as they are: 3rd, that my time of labour during a stay at Paris of only five months, was much shortened by a sickness which threatened to be fatal.—If you take all this into consideration, and cast a glance over my letters relating to the present, I venture to hope, you will, on receipt of my last letter upon times gone by, bear me witness, that I have conscientiously distributed and applied my time.

With the exception of what I explored which bore reference to the history of the middle ages, and which I am about to use principally for my history of the Hohenstauffens, my researches have been directed to the most memorable passages of the history of the 16th and 17th centuries. I was, however, dependent upon the sources of information which presented themselves, and not in condition to fill up many intervals, much to be regretted. For the man, however, who (under the impossibility of discovering anything utterly unheard of in modern history) takes delight in individual transactions, and a more particular unfolding of divers occurrences, what I have to communi-

cate, in spite of its gaps and deficiencies, will I trust have some interest.

The order in which I present you with my results, is not unconditionally prescribed by the matter. My object is to place together, as much as possible, passages, which are naturally connected, yet to avoid placing the most valuable in front; that the continuation may not fall off in attraction compared with the commencement.

LETTER II.

THE ANABAPTISTS IN MUNSTER.

I AM entirely agreed with you in opinion that among the professors of each of the great sects of Christianity, noxious excrescences may shoot forth. This happens especially where principles, sound in themselves, enter into combination with false conclusions, and are pushed forward to extremes; their assertors looking neither to the right nor left. After such fashion has the Catholic Church often fallen into tyranny; the Protestant sometimes into anarchy. In the one case, Will reigned under the name of Law, in the other, under the pretext of Liberty. In no instance does the latter condition present itself in ruder deformity than in that of the Anabaptists, who, beginning with the rejection of forms of lesser importance, proceeded step by step, till at last they put forth a damnable phrenzy, and attributed to it all the pretensions of wisdom which was to redeem the world. In the 99th volume of the MSS. of Dupuy, there is a cotemporary letter in the Italian lan-

guage respecting their proceedings at Munster, which appears to me worthy of publication.

Although Munster (the letter states) is surrounded by the besieging forces of several princes, the Anabaptists defend themselves with obstinacy, and their sect increases day by day in Flanders, Holland, Frizeland, and Saxony, in the neighbourhood of Cologne, nay, in all Germany, after such fashion that we must fear the greatest disturbance and revolt. Some eight days after the city was invested, their prophet for the time being, (a tailor by trade,) John of Leyden, declared that he had a commission from heaven to be king of Israel and of righteousness, and to reign after the fashion of King David. At the same time, another Anabaptist, John of Warendorf, came forward, and declared, God had commanded him to be prophet in the room of John of Leyden; and as such, he predicted that John should go forth with an army, destroy and root out all other kings, princes, and authorities without mercy, but reign himself over the whole world. Accordingly, the new king began his sovereignty, appointed his chancellor, marshal, chamberlain, council, and every usual appendage to a court; kept a table on a large scale, and out of his eight wives, selected one from Holland, (the widow of a prophet who had fallen in battle,) as his queen; who immediately provided

herself with an extraordinary attendance of courtiers. Both, and in like manner their attendants, dressed themselves in silks and costly stuffs, mostly taken from the churches and the clergy. When the king rides out, he wears a suit of silver tissue, slashed, and lined with crimson, which is held together with buckles of gold. At his right hand, a page bears the bible; at his left, another carries the sword. One of these two is a son of the Bishop of Munster. The king's head is adorned with a triple crown of gold, richly ornamented; round his neck hangs a golden chain, to which a remarkable piece of magnificence is attached. It represents, namely, the terrestrial globe, over which a small cross of gold is suspended; near this are to be seen two swords, one of gold, the other of silver, and this inscription:— "King of Righteousness over the whole world." The queen wears a similar ornament.

For the purpose of audiences a great scaffold is erected in the market place, on which the king takes his place. Two steps downward at his feet stand the councillors. Whosoever makes any suit, kneels three times, and then prostrates himself in order to make his address.

At the reception of the Holy Sacrament about 4200 persons seated themselves at table in the great square of the Cathedral, and were served with three

kinds of food. The king and queen partook of certain hard baked pastry of flour, which they broke and distributed with these words: Take and eat, and proclaim the death of the Lord. In like manner they dealt with the wine, and the company passed on what they received, saying: "Brother (or sister) take and eat, and so as Christ has given himself for me, will I give myself for you, and so as this bread is baked of many different grains, and this wine is pressed from many different berries, so are we all assembled and bound together." Hereupon followed certain prayers and laudatory psalms.

The feast over, the king asked aloud whether all were ready to do the will of the Father, and to suffer for him? All cried out Yea, Yea! The new prophet then took up the word saying, His Majesty has com-

voice, "Mend yourselves and do penance, the time is short and the Father merciful; the axe is laid to the root, and ye shall perish like Sodom and Gomorrah, unless ye believe." Wherever the authorities caused these men to be brought before them, they cast their mantle on the ground, laid upon it one of their gold florins and said, "We are sent by the Father to proclaim the peace of God." If the inhabitants refused to admit, at their exhortation, a community of goods, these men bitterly reviled them, and said that the refusal was a contempt of their mission.

Some of their preachers have been taken, some of whom of their own accord, and others compelled by torture, have given information as to the fortifications of the town, and also have made disclosures as to their doctrine: according to the witness of the scriptures and all the prophets, those are righteous who hunger and thirst after righteousness with all their might, and are ready to die for it. Now, however, righteousness has not been preached to the people, and of four prophets two only are righteous, David and the Father; and two unrighteous, the Pope, and Luther worse than the Pope. If they are asked how they would shew their righteousness, since, against their own word, they have driven forth so many innocent persons from Munster, and laid hands on their goods, their wives, and children? they an-

swer; "Ye understand indeed to judge the face of heaven, but not the time. The time is come when the meek and the pious shall possess the earth, even as the goods of the Egyptians were once made over to the people of Israel."

Every one has in Munster from six to eight wives, with whom he lives till they become pregnant. Girls above the age of twelve are compelled to marry. Men who fail to live according to their duty with their wives, are beheaded: even the old women seek out husbands who are compelled to look after and provide for them.

The Anabaptists destroy churches and cloisters, for such are, in their creed, only the market-places of Baal. They hold, that without prophets, it is impossible to understand the scriptures; they reject the Emperor and all superior authorities except God; they wish to put to death all sovereigns on account of their unrighteousness; they apply many texts of scripture relating to our Saviour to their king, who occasionally, when he considers people to have offended, strikes off their heads.

LETTER III.

Granvelle's Remains.—John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse.—Maurice.—Investiture of the Milanese.—Charles V. —Ferdinand I.—Charles in Spain.—Francis I.—Eleanor his wife.

AMONG the richest and as yet almost unexplored sources for the history of the 16th century, is to be reckoned the collection of documents left by Cardinal Granvelle, and which are now deposited at Besançon, to the amount of eighty-four folio volumes*. The learned librarian of that place has the intention of editing the most remarkable of them in twelve

* Viz. twenty-four volumes memoirs, collectanea, letters, state manuscripts, &c., Granvelle. Eight of Morillon. Seven of Hoppers. One of the Embassy of St. Maurice in France. Five of Renard. Eight of Chantonnay. Eight of Champagnay. Three of Belfontaine. Two of Vergey. Two vols. for the History of Richelieu. Four Treaties of Peace and Compacts. One, Charles V. and Philip 2nd's Itinerarium by Vandenesse. A faithful summary of these MSS. prepared by the Abbé Boyzot of St. Vincent, is in the Royal Library at Paris. MSS. G. M. fourteen, two great vols. in folio.

octavo volumes. Pending the execution of this specially meritorious undertaking, we may be allowed to direct attention towards it by anticipation, and to impart two extracts out of the instructive journal* which Vandenesse, (a kind of travelling marshal to Charles V.,) composed as an eye-witness. They relate, the first to the meeting which took place between the Emperor and the wife of the Elector of Saxony after the battle of Mulilberg, and the second to the capture of the Landgrave Philip.

I. In the year 1547, the 24th May, the Electress received permission from the Emperor to come to him. The Margrave of Brandenburgh and the Archduke of Austria betook themselves therefore to Wittenberg, to conduct her thence. She appeared in a carriage, in mourning, accompanied by her eldest son, her brother-in-law and his wife, and four carriages full of women all dressed in black. In the Emperor's tent were his brother, Duke Maurice, the Duke of Alva, the Prince of Camerino, and other princes and lords. As soon as the Electress approached, she threw herself at the feet of the Emperor, who however presented her his hand and caused

† Sommaire des voyages faits par Charles V. depuis l'an 1517 —1551, recueillis et mis par ecrit par Jehan de Vandenesse, controleur ayant suivi leur majestè dans tous leurs voyages.

his brother to lift her up. After this, one of her council presented her requests, which, among other matters, went to this, that her husband might not be carried away out of the country. Hereupon she was answered: His majesty at present was come to no understanding on these things*. The Electress fell once more on her knees, and prayed the Emperor might have compassion on her and her children. She was then conducted by the Duke of Alva to her husband, with whom she remained for somewhere about half an hour, and then returned to Wittenberg, which city the Emperor, on the next day, inspected within and without, and also visited the Electress at the castle.

On the 26th May the Elector was brought to the castle at Wittenberg, to remain there so long as the Emperor should abide in this neighbourhood. Five hundred Spanish arquebuziers under Alonzo Unio did duty as his guard.

On the 3rd of June the Elector took leave of wife, children, and the inhabitants, and returned into the camp of the Emperor. His second son accompanied him so far, made his respects to the Emperor, and excused himself that he had been unable, by reason of sickness, to appear sooner. He commended himself,

* Sa Majesté, pour le present, n'entendait à ces affaires là.

his father, mother, and their other children to the grace of the Emperor.

On the 4th of June, in the presence of the Electors of Brandenburg, the Archduke of Austria, and several princes and lords, it was proclaimed, that inasmuch as John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, had, on account of misdeed and high treason, forfeited the Electorate, and since his being taken prisoner had, by agreement, renounced the same, as well as the town of Wittenberg with its appurtenances, the Emperor, therefore, makes over the same on various grounds to the Duke Maurice, &c.

In his, Maurice's, name, answer was made, that he received the gift with thanks and obedience; that he had, however, never declared himself against the imprisoned duke in the view of succeeding to the Electorate, but only to serve the Emperor. Although the prisoner had been guilty of rebellion and disobedience against the Emperor and King, yet might the latter have regard to the prisoner's children. He, Maurice, thanked the Emperor, that the electoral dignity was preserved to the House of Saxony, and that he, the Emperor, had shewn grace to John Frederick, who had well deserved to lose his head. Hereupon the Emperor gave him his hand, and the Elector of Brandenburg pointed out to him his new place. On the following morning the Duchess left

Wittenberg, and the new Elector made his entry into the town.

II. June 19, 1547.—

The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had for some days past much entreated the Emperor to have compassion upon the Landgrave of Hesse. After Charles had consented, and the points of the treaty had been established, these two conducted the Landgrave, on the 18th of June, to Halle, and on the 19th, in the afternoon at five o'clock, into a great gallery, where the Emperor was seated on his imperial throne, under a golden canopy, and surrounded by princes and lords. When the Electors with the Landgrave had approached to within about eight paces from the Emperor, the Landgrave knelt down, with his hands clasped, and his head inclined to the ground. His Chancellor, likewise kneeling, read out the Landgrave's confession of his offence, and how he surrendered himself to the hands and pleasure of the Emperor for grace or no grace. When this reading was over, and while both Electors stood beside the Landgrave, the Chancellor Seld made answer: that the Emperor excused him, out of regard for the Electors, and in respect of their intercession, both from capital punishment and perpetual imprisonment, in accordance with the conditions set forth in the treaty.

Hereupon was the Landgrave committed to the

Duke of Alva, who conducted him to the castle, and entertained him, together with the Electors, at supper. Afterwards they brought him to a chamber under the guard of John of Grenarra, and two companies of Spaniards.

From the 19th to the 23rd, the Electors made great intercession with the Emperor for the Landgrave, who complained much of his durance, and after many devices and debates, (devises et parlemens,) the Emperor caused the Electors to come to him and read the whole treaty concluded between himself and the Landgrave. It ran, that he surrendered himself into the hands of his Majesty, to his pleasure and mercy, and that the Emperor excused him the capital punishment he had merited, in regard to, and in favour of the Electors, restored to him his confiscated possessions, and pardoned and remitted him his perpetual imprisonment, the which sufficiently shewed, that he was to be confined at the pleasure of the Emperor. The Electors acknowledged hereupon the failure of their plea, begged the pardon of his Majesty for what they had spoken, and acknowledged that the fault was on their side, the Emperor had fulfilled the conditions, and this they would maintain against whoever would defend the contrary.

Then the Emperor caused also the Duke of Brunswick, lately released from confinement, to come before

him, and be told how wrongfully he had acted in seeking aid from France, and in speaking and writing unbecomingly of the Emperor. Yet would the Emperor forgive him all, and restore him to the possession of his property.

The renewed contentions into which the Emperor fell with the Electors, on account of Philip's prolonged captivity, are well known. To this period of the contest belong also the difficulties raised by Maurice as to the investiture of Milan*, which the Emperor had made without reference to the States. Charles answers, June 7th, 1552†;—"After the great exertions and expenses which he had undergone, in order to protect the duchy against the tyranny of the French, it was not necessary to consult the princes."

Much of Granvelle's Remains which concern the Records, I shall give later. Other minor particulars I have pointed out in a supplement to this letter; they are only calculated for the purposes of certain learned researches, and have no claim on the general reader.

1515.—January 15. The States were convened at

* Disputed by Charles with France, on the death of Francis Sforza, in 1525, first by negociation, and then by arms. It was finally occupied by Charles, and confirmed to his son Philip by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis in 1559.

† Granvelle, iv. p. 128.

Brussels, and Charles V. was declared out of his minority* (emancipé) in the presence of his aunt, the Elector Palatine Frederick, and the Count Felix of Furstenburgh. The two last were present as plenipotentiaries of Maximilian I.

1517.†—Letter of Charles V. to Ximenes and Adrian. Several persons who had given evil advice to the Infant Ferdinand, are directed to be removed from him, specially the Commander of Calatrava and the Bishop of Astorga.

Before his departure from Flanders‡, Charles made a will. The 17th September, Charles embarked with his sister, and several lords and ladies, at Middelburgh, and reached Villa Viciosa the 29th September. The Cardinal Croy, who before the embarkation had been consecrated Bishop of Cambrai, received the archbishoprick of Toledo‖. November 18, Charles entered Valladolid, and remained there till March 1518.

1519.—January 19. He journeyed from Sarragossa to Barcelona, and learned, on the way, the death of the Emperor Maximilian. January 25, 1820, he quitted Spain, and reached Cologne on the 4th May.

* Vandenesse. † Undated. ‡ Granvelle, i. 65.

‖ This appointment was one of the scandalous Flemish jobs which led to the dangerous insurrectionary movements in Spain, in the early part of Charles's reign.

May 17th began the insurrection at Toledo, and they seized the person of the Queen Mother, who however refused to sign what they laid before her.

1521.—April 27. Charles V. came to Dover. At Brussels he had received the King of Denmark, and soon after the Cardinal Wolsey, as a mediator.

1522.—July 3. Charles embarked from England, and reached Santander on the 16th. On All Saints' day, the general pardon was proclaimed at Valladolid, from which only twelve persons remained excepted.

1525.—The Emperor held, after the arrival of Francis I. in Spain, a great assembly at Toledo, at which were present, three English envoys, the cardinal legate, the envoys of Poland, Portugal, Venice, Ragusa, the Italian princes, &c.

September 18. Charles V. came to Madrid, in order to visit the King (Francis I.) reported by his physicians to be very sick. The following day arrived the Duchess of Alençon, whom the Emperor received half way down the stair, and conducted to her brother. Shortly before, the Margrave John of Brandenburgh, Viceroy of Valencia, had died there.

1526.—February 18. Charles and Francis met at Torrejon, and remained there till the 20th. As soon as Francis was over the stream which separates France from Spain, the Sieur de Praet besought him

to confirm the treaty of Madrid. Francis, however, made difficulties, on account of which his sister was detained at Vittoria.

In Seville, the Emperor was informed that the imprisoned Bishop of Zamora had killed the commander of the place; the Emperor directed the Alcalde Ronquillo to proceed thither forthwith and do justice: and Ronquillo had the bishop hanged. From the instant that the king received intelligence of this, (on the 11th March,) he forbore to go to church, until he had received a pardon from Rome.

1542.—At the assembly of the States of Castille, in Valladolid, it was said by them,—their principal prayer to the Emperor was, that he would make no more journeys, or expose his person to such dangers as before Algiers, but that he would remain in Spain.

1545.—March 19.* The Queen of Hungary directs the Ambassador S^{r} Moris to communicate to the Queen of France her sympathy for the mortifications which she is compelled to undergo at the court. She would advise that the Queen of France should go to the King, shew him every kind of respect, obedience, and love, and pray him to communicate all his commands to herself, and not suffer them to reach her through others.

* S^{r} Moris, Ambassade.

1547.—April 22. Moris communicates the decease of the King of France; that his consort had little cause to be grieved, for he had treated her very ill.

February 21.*—The younger Granvelle writes to his father—"The Emperor has learned, by many reports, that the Elector, Joseph Frederick, has with him not more than 8,000 sickly infantry, and 4,000 good cavalry. The King and Maurice have together 19,000 (10,000?) infantry, and 6,000 cavalry.

I subjoin certain dates from Vandenesse:

1530.—February 22. Coronation at Monza.

1531.—November 23. Departure of Charles from Augsburgh.

1531.—December 17. In Cologne.

1532.—January 6. Departure from Cologne.

January 25. Arrival in Brussels.

October 4. Departure from Vienna.

November 13. In Bologna.

1533.—April 9. Embarkation at Genoa.

1535.—June 16. Landing in Africa.

1536.—November 15. Departure from Genoa.

December 6. Arrival in Barcelona.

* Granvelle, iv. 1.

fortnight earlier, July 5, 1550, the King writes t
Marillac:—the Duke Maurice has within these fe
days dispatched some envoys to me, to declare ho
he had in view to be my servant and entire frien
He has made me so many offers, that I can do 1
other than set store by them, provided always, th
be holy (saintes) and sincere. He appears to wis
nothing so much as to give me proofs of this, an
promises to impart to me, through a confidenti
person, every thing which takes place at the Die
— Marillac in his answer of July 29, recounts th
means which the Emperor has at his disposal, for e
forcing his will in Germany, and adds: Maurice sti
remains on his side, out of fear of the old Elector
Brandenburgh, who might seize upon Magdeburg fo
his son. The Duke of Bavaria is son-in-law to Kin

eye-sight sufficed to decipher them. I found more legible the reports which Marillac (who was Bishop of Rennes, and afterwards Archbishop of Vienne) furnished from Germany in 1550*. They concern the relations of the Emperor with the States, the Interim, the Elector Maurice, and above all the plan for procuring for Philip II. the sovereignty in Germany, in addition to his other dignities.

The misunderstanding between Charles and the States first exhibited itself, in that very few of them attended the Diet of Augsburg in 1550; yet (says Marillac) he bears everything with wonderful prudence†. The King of France (he writes soon afterwards) must use his influence over the German States, that they may not give way to the passions of the Emperor. All Germany appears to have no other hope than that of escaping out of all difficulties by the king's assistance. Various princes and deputies of the States have openly declared to me, they could not sufficiently congratulate themselves, that the king was living in peace with all his neighbours, and had no occasion to direct his thoughts to any other subject than the one how he might best, directly or indirectly, thwart the plans of the Emperor. Already, a

* MSS. Brienne, 89.

† Report of the 16th and 29th July, 1550.

fortnight earlier, July 5, 1550, the King writes to Marillac:—the Duke Maurice has within these few days dispatched some envoys to me, to declare how he had in view to be my servant and entire friend. He has made me so many offers, that I can do no other than set store by them, provided always, they be holy (saintes) and sincere. He appears to wish nothing so much as to give me proofs of this, and promises to impart to me, through a confidential person, every thing which takes place at the Diet. — Marillac in his answer of July 29, recounts the means which the Emperor has at his disposal, for enforcing his will in Germany, and adds: Maurice still remains on his side, out of fear of the old Elector of Brandenburgh, who might seize upon Magdeburg for his son. The Duke of Bavaria is son-in-law to King Ferdinand, and possesses no qualities worthy of a prince. His whole merit consists in drinking and dicing.

The greater part of the misunderstandings above alluded to sprang out of religious circumstances. The Protestants (Marillac writes, June 16) trouble themselves so little about the Interim, that they preach and proclaim their doctrine even in Augsburgh. About the same time, (July 5,) Henry II. informs him: the Pope, in order to put off a decision on the general meeting of the church, and other matters

thereto belonging, has sent no legate or nuncio to Germany; but now, when he sees that all this serves only to further the interests of the Emperor in Germany, he is anxious to send some one into those parts of it, with which he has already some intelligence. Blank sheets will be given to his agents, to be used by them in matters tending to his purpose, and for the prosecution of many negociations already begun. King Henry, however, pronounces all this to be mere talk, and gives his belief that in fact the Pope is in an understanding with the Emperor in the whole business. It is certain that the Emperor was favourable to the assembling of the Church, inasmuch as the Protestants were opposed to it, and the French, openly or secretly, placed difficulties in its way.

The death of Granvelle was an important loss to the Emperor. This night (writes Marillac, August 28,) died Granvelle, of the effects of age and the dropsy, for which the Emperor has good cause to be very sad, for the deceased was an able servant, and possessed a wonderful dexterity in directing all relations and negociations to the advantage of his master *. The

* In the letters of Vergeys, (in the collection of Cardinal Granvelle, at Besançon,) vol. i., 1598, it is related that the Chancellor Granvelle had specially promoted the incorporation of the Netherlands with Germany. Charles V. contended that the consent of the States thereto was necessary.

Emperor (he goes on in another place) has ordered that Granvelle's funeral shall be celebrated with the greatest solemnity. All the states of the empire attended the funeral mass; the Duke of Alva conducted the children of the deceased; and the entire court of Charles, in deep mourning, (woollens alone, and no silks being worn,) joined the procession.

The Germans alone are glad, and think that the Emperor will find no minister who will understand to work so dexterously for the diminution of the liberties of their country *. Moreover, all the provinces together have not shed as many tears as the Germans have emptied bumpers of wine, accusing, as they do, in justification of their joy, the ambition and cupidity of Granvelle, and designating him as the most venal and unprincipled minister the Emperor ever had in his service. No less is King Ferdinand rejoiced at the death of Granvelle, because the latter had endeavoured to procure the imperial crown for Prince Philip.

The Emperor himself was, moreover, at this time of difficulties, so sick, that Marillac writes (September 9, 1550); It would be impossible to find a weaker and thinner man; and the body physician informs the Queen

* Philip II. at least found one to answer his description, in the son of the deceased chancellor, as the Netherlands experienced to their cost.

of Hungary, on October 22, that without a miracle Charles cannot survive six months. Some weeks later, (November 4,) Marillac acquaints his sovereign:—The Emperor has not only lost an uncommon quantity of blood by the hæmorrhoids, but the gout has also so attacked him in the hands, feet, shoulders, and other places, that he is obliged to keep his bed, without being able to stir. Public affairs do not advance a step. Soon afterwards, however, the last mentioned evil must have been removed. Marillac writes, at least, January 27, 1551:—The Emperor does not refrain, on account of his sickness of body, from working with his spirit in every thing in which his greatness and the profitable direction of affairs are concerned.

No affair at this time was nearer to his heart, than that of procuring for his son, Philip, in addition to the Spanish monarchy, all his German possessions, and the imperial crown. A plan, however, which found warm opponents in King Ferdinand, and his son, Maximilian, and which introduced division into the house of Austria, till the Emperor gave up the attempt.

A general view may best be taken of the march of the negociations, by our here inserting extracts from the reports of Marillac, which bear upon the subject, in their chronological order.

As early as the year 1549, (he remarks,) that Ferdinand is seeking to gain over the States partly by money*. The Germans believe that the King is entirely dependent upon them, seek (like a greedy people) to gain money, and think that the world united against them can do them no injury. The affair was pushed forward more actively in the following year. The Emperor, (says Marillac, in a report of July 29, 1550,) would fain bequeath all his states to Philip, but Ferdinand makes opposition, and maintains, that the Emperor has promised him never to raise his son to the dignity of King of the Romans. The matter was further discussed; Ferdinand, it was said, should receive Wirtemberg and other indemnifications, and marry his daughter to Philip, &c., but he remained obstinate, saying he had ever found in the Emperor so good a brother and lord, that he could give no belief to such insinuations. Were Ferdinand even consenting to resign the Romish crown, the Electors would choose, not Philip, but another. August 28, 1550. The Emperor's sister (September 9, 1550) is about to conduct Philip to the Netherlands, in order to make him accustomed to the manners of the country, and to bring about that the inhabitants may find him more to their taste

* Sommaire de l'Ambassade, de 1549. Dupuy, 745.

than do those of these parts; for, the truth to speak, they are here so little edified with him, that were any change to take place, they would far rather call in the King of Bohemia and make him their sovereign. Nor would Maximilian on his part choose to bear the sovereignty of his cousin, or want support for his refusal, for he has the love of the country at large, being a prince of attractive qualities and great reputation; Philip, on the contrary, is hated by all the Germans, yea, even by his own subjects and servants.

Simultaneously with these political negociations, festivals, and even a species of love intrigue, were carried on. Marillac writes, October 7:—The Princess of Lorraine is come to Augsburg, in order (as all the world and her own people say) to marry the Prince of Spain, who has a great inclination towards her. But as the Emperor altogether refuses his consent, she now finds herself as far from the fulfilment of her wishes, as she appeared, at the period of her departure from Lorraine, to be near it. Nevertheless, she refuses to espouse the Duke of Holstein, brother to him who kept her father prisoner.

Report of October 21:—The Duchess of Lorraine wished to take her departure eight days since, but the tournament which the Prince of Spain had, out of love for her, set on foot, detained her till to-day.

Philip, accompanied by ten of a colour, tilted with ten of another colour in the great market-place, under the windows of the Emperor and princesses. All the ambassadors were invited to attend this festivity; but, to make the matter short, I must observe that worse lance play, according to the universal judgment, was never seen. Also, on a second occasion, (February 3, 1551,) Philip broke not a single lance, nor even once struck his antagonist. Just as little fortune as at the tournament, for the princess's sake, had Philip in his feasting with the German princes. Marillac writes, October 21:—According to the challenge of the Cardinal of Trent, Philip has given a banquet to the Electors here present, and also eat with them: he sought to shew himself in every respect a willing scholar, and drank twice, thrice, as much as he could bear, whereupon the cardinal, as his preceptor, observed, he took good hope that, if the prince should persevere in this course, he would in time win the hearts of the Germans. Since, however, such means of art as these failed to further the great object, they hit upon the conception of naming, as in the Romish empire, an emperor with emperors (Philip and Maximilian); upon which Marillac remarks, (November 27, 1550,) without taking into account that this would make the empire hereditary, the plan is at once impracticable, on account of the difference in character

of the two princes; and never would the active and restless King of Bohemia put up with the stupidity of the latter.

About the time, when the Emperor would so gladly have decided this important question, the party divisions of the Church once more disturbed him. Marillac writes, at least, November 9, 1550, and January 6, 1551:—The Catholic Electors do not choose to attend the assembly of the Church, out of fear that, in their absence, a part of their subjects may attach themselves to the Protestants, and put an end to the spiritual rule. The Protestants, meanwhile, detest the interim, which has its origin with the Catholics, and pray for success to the contumacious city of Magdeburgh. It is true the Emperor has caused proclamations to be printed and posted against such conduct, but these are in all cases torn down in the night. He is well informed of every thing, but temporizes, and bears all with incredible patience, out of apprehension that, by contrary conduct on his part, a greater flame might be lighted in Germany. This pliancy so much the less conduced to the attainment of his purpose in the matter of the disposal of the imperial crown, inasmuch as the opposition in his family became more obstinate in proportion as his eagerness increased. January 20, 1551, Marillac writes:—The Emperor has had such hot words

with his brother, Ferdinand, on the subject of the succession to the imperial throne, that his indignation brought on him a fever, and he will hardly see the King of Bohemia; the Queen of Hungary also contended for a long time with her brother, and looked, as she came out of his chamber, so angry and heated, that all the world was aware how irritated she was. King Ferdinand kept his chamber the whole of the following day, and suffered no one to see him. The King of Bohemia did the same, and gave out that he was ill. The universal report ran, that Philip would forthwith return to Spain; and the Germans gave out aloud that they would have no Spaniard, while the Spaniards assured, that Philip would succeed his father. The next day, however, contrary to expectation, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and the Queen of Hungary, were observed to be cheerful, and it was thence concluded that the parties must have been reconciled.

That this however was not altogether the case, appears from the later reports of Marillac. Ferdinand and Maximilian (he writes, February 29, 1551 *) are

* Respecting Maximilian, Seld writes, November 4, 1564, to Granvelle:—He surpasses his father in genius and soundness of judgement. He is skilled in several languages, and understands Italian in particular. His respect for religion also deserves praise.

on the point of departure, the Diet dissolves itself, the Emperor is not likely to find another similar opportunity for collecting his entire family together, and the King of Bohemia, who has held out with head and heart against this first attack, will for the future be still less inclined to give way in a matter which so nearly concerns him, and which is so important. The Electors of Mentz and Treves are determined to have but one Emperor and one King of the Romans, a third would be out of all rule and superfluous. They reject the Spaniard. Saxony, Brandenburgh, and the Palatine, are absent—a sign that they do not consent, and only wish to withdraw themselves from the instances of the Emperor.

Ferdinand (says Marillac, March 3, 1551) seeks to appease his enraged brother; Maximilian, on the contrary, seems to trouble himself little about the matter. He comes not into his father's company, nor speaks with him, except (March 10, 1551) once in every week, two or three words, when they meet in the Emperor's chamber; otherwise they see nothing of each other, whether in their houses, or at mass, or the chase, or any where. The Germans observe all this very closely, love the King of Bohemia all the better, devote to him their hearts and affec-

tions, out of fear of ever coming under the sway of another.

So far the diplomatic correspondence of Marillac of 1550 and 1551. Marillac was sent again to Germany with the Marshal Bourdillon in 1558, to gain over the States and raise the influence of France *. The instruction given to him runs (characteristically of the French policy):—He is above all things to gain over the councillors, knights, and servants, since these usually govern the princes; from twenty to twenty-five pensions annually of two hundred dollars each may be disposed of to fitting persons for this object. The ambassadors, however, found it not advisable to dispose of so much money, and assigned stipends for promises of multifarious services and of secret information, to only three persons, the brother of the Elector of Treves, a member of the Imperial Chamber of Justice, and an obscure doctor attached to the Emperor's court.

Sketches, furnished by the ambassadors of individual princes, would occupy too much room here. I will only mention, that they represent the Elector of Treves as a zealous friend to France; the Duke of Deuxponts as an astute man, and much respected;

* Bibl. Royale, No. 8628. Fol.

and that of the Duke of Wirtemberg, it is said, he is timid, lives retired, and wishes for nothing so much as repose, and not to mix himself in the affairs of others.

The Germans, it is said in another place, (page 251,) are not so eager in behalf of any thing they may have lost, as to be willing for its sake to set all to hazard. They forget easily, as was said of them two thousand years ago, the good and evil done to them. After mentioning the unhappy and debilitating religious dissensions, and the misunderstandings between the Emperor and the States, the ambassadors add:—Germany is in a condition in which it has enough to do to maintain itself, without seeking for business elsewhere. The slowness of the people, the complication of their negociations, the length of their Diets, will permit us to place Metz, and the other cities we have won, in such a condition, that they must abandon all hope of ever recovering them—a prophecy which, alas, has been but too well confirmed by the event.

Even at that time the French were not wanting in these sophistical and flattering speeches, with which they have but too often deluded the short-sighted and credulous Germans. Thus was Ram-

bouillet *, a French ambassador in 1562, directed by his instruction to gain over the German princes and to remind them how much the friendship and alliance of the French court had contributed to the security and upholding of the ancient and praiseworthy liberties of Germany.

* Brienne MSS., vol. 292.

LETTER V.

Account of the Venetian Badoer of 1558.—Of the Relations of Germany.—The Character of the People, the Princes, and the Emperor.

Among the Paris MSS. there is a long and very interesting report which the Venetian Badoer furnished to his government in 1558, upon the affairs of Germany, the character of Charles V., the princes, States, &c. I communicate the following extracts:—

The public buildings and the palaces of the princes in Germany are great and striking to the eye, but not magnificent in respect either of material or workmanship; the churches are larger in proportion, and so adorned and decorated, that they surpass those of Italy; the streets are long, broad, straight, and paved, yet so far incommodious, in that the kennels are in the centre. In almost all the numerous and extensive public places are fountains, which contribute to convenience and beauty. The soil is fruitful, and produces in superfluity of every thing for the use of man, yet I must speak of their victuals as coarse. No where are more artisans of all kinds to

be found, and among them the smiths are particularly distinguished and dexterous; silken wares, however, good hats, and some other articles of manufacture, are deficient. The richest merchants dwell in Augsburgh, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburgh, such as the Fuggers, the Balzers, &c.; these drive a great trade, and conduct the greatest transactions in money and exchanges with kings and princes.

In every great town there take place annually two or three fairs; among these, the most famous is that of Frankfort, where people appear from all parts of Germany, from England, France, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia. Many towns are free of the empire, some for great services rendered to the Emperor, some for money which they have paid to the princes, some through their own exertions in shaking off the tyranny of their masters, some by alliance with other powers, who, like themselves, were attached to liberty. In reverse of this, some have lost their liberty through bad measures of government, or the superior power of their neighbours. Upon the whole, the form of their government is popular, yet there are many differences in respect of persons, number, consideration, duration, and kind, in the constitution of the magistracies and councils; so much is clear, that neither the qualification of the individuals, nor the adoption of a particular

number, nor any other forms considered by themselves, would be sufficient to make their affairs prosper, but they manifest, all the while, the greatest solicitude for their liberties. Whence also arise their alliances among the towns, or with individual princes.

One cannot do otherwise, with respect to their criminal justice, than blame their tortures and cruel modes of capital punishment. We should be compelled even to censure the authorities as cruel and hard-hearted, if they did not allege in their excuse that the criminals of their nation have no fear of death in itself, but only of its manner and kind. Besides the general code of the empire, every city has its peculiar code, and, failing both these, they fall back upon the mere universal rules of law,—those, for example, of Saxony; and maintain that such perfect order is established in this matter, that they require no extraneous aid from the laws of any foreign community.

Upon the whole, the Germans have a national inclination for law and justice, are little disposed to covet the goods of others, and are prompt to keeping private compacts. They appear to be of resolute courage, but are rather to be called daring, and fling themselves sometimes almost with the recklessness of brutes into open dangers, and sometimes again avoid such from fear. They eat much, and drink more, on

account of which the German, when he is moderate, is immediately pronounced to be sick. The men are cold in love affairs, hot in quarrels,—the women discreet and modest. Covetousness is frequently considered in the light of activity in business, rather than as any thing disgraceful. Their dress, on which neither men nor women spend much, is of humble guise and ill-fitted, but decent. Every appearance of slavery, the slightest attempt to disparage or prejudice their liberties, is insupportable to them. Out of discretion, no simple citizen is accustomed to ride in the town; this is left to the nobles, or to the old and sick, or such as are in public employments. For a little matter they fall into anger, draw swords, and shed blood; but even as soon do they become quiet upon a peaceful summons, and drown their wrath in cups of wine. In converse they speak their mind without reflection, not always, it is true, with great courtesy, but without useless words. Towards strangers they are often rough, and in some other respects exhibit themselves as barbarians and inhabitants of a cold country, from which it follows that they are the less adapted for intellectual pursuits and developement of the understanding,—for which reason, also, they by preference addict themselves to works of manual skill, &c. The Elector Augustus of Saxony knows nothing, and chooses to know nothing

of war; he goes every day, yea, it is said, even on nights by torchlight, to the chase, and is also beyond measure addicted to women. Of the Dukes of Pomerania, little is to be said; they are weak, and have never put themselves forward. The Duke Albert of Prussia, of the House of Brandenburgh, is a man of great bravery, who has, against the will of the Emperor and King of the Romans, robbed the great master of the Teutonic Order of all power, and made war with effect upon the men of Livonia, because they had sent back his ambassadors. The Duke Albert IV. of Bavaria has never done any thing remarkable, and is only fit for music, drinking, and gaming.

The Emperor has, as such, about 2000 florins revenue, which for the most part he receives by contributions of 50, 100, and 200 florins, from the cities and states of the empire. Besides this he receives something for his helmet, as it is called, his sword, his horse, &c. &c. It is incredible, and yet true, that the empire, as such, possesses not a florin of revenue. After the victory over John Frederick and the Landgrave of Hesse, the Emperor made a proposition to the Diet, that an imperial contribution should be levied for imperial charges, and a treasure set on foot; but the business went no further, the States fearing that the Emperor and the King of the

Romans, might apply the proceeds to their own advantage, or even to the raising war against the States themselves. The payment of the members of the imperial chamber is almost the only expense to which the empire is subject, and only on extraordinary occasions, (that, for example, of a Turkish war,) is a contribution levied, and paid into the military chest.

The Emperor Charles is of the middle size, well grown, and of dignified appearance. A broad forehead, blue eyes, expressing much intellect, aquiline nose, fair skin, the under jaw long and broad, on account of which the teeth do not shut well, and the last words of his discourses are the less intelligible. His front teeth are few and jagged; his beard, short and grey. His temperament is phlegmatic, with melancholy at the bottom. The gout has often severely attacked him in the hands, feet, and shoulders; but more severely ten years since than at the time when he determined to retire to the cloister of St. Justus.

In all his discourses and dealings the Emperor shewed the greatest veneration for the Catholic belief. He heard mass every day; was regular at prayers and preachings, caused the Bible to be read to him, communicated four times in the year, gave great alms to the poor, and was wont, before he

started on his journeys to Spain, often to hold a crucifix in his hand. In the perilous time of the Smalcaldic league, he was seen praying on his knees at midnight before a crucifix;—and another time he suggested to the Nuncio, not to release the persons of his court, without very satisfactory reasons, from the obligations imposed by the church—for instance, in the matter of fasts.

The Emperor has been always a strong man, and one who required variety and high seasoning in his food; he never kept himself within restraint, when he fell in with women, whether of the higher or lower classes. According to the report of his courtiers, he was little inclined to make presents; and it is told of him, as an instance of his penuriousness, that he caused only 100 gold crowns to be paid to the soldier who brought him the coat of mail and glove of the King of France, his prisoner. Moreover, every soldier who swam the Elbe, before the battle of Muhlberg, received a new suit of clothes* and four crowns; which many considered too little.

The Emperor called great assemblies of his councillors, but consulted a few men of business. Gran-

* This species of reward for military exploits was an ordinary one in those times, and there are several instances of it in the Dutch war of independence. [Tr.]

velle had great influence; and after him his son. During a press of affairs, he caused a confidential officer to make short abstracts, which were not, however, always sufficient for a full view of the subjects. In speaking to foreign ministers, he shewed great courtesy and patience, and answered so readily, courteously, and to the point, that he left them nothing to desire. Affairs were often, however, left entirely to the ministers, out of which great evils arose, since they were by no means always wise or disinterested.

LETTER VI.

Spinola.—Cossacks in the Thirty Years' War.—Bernhard of Weimar.—Marsfield.—Situation of France.—Lower Saxony and Denmark.—Wellenstein's levies.—His letter to Stenbielke.

ALTHOUGH Paris affords by no means such profuse materials for the history of Germany as for that of other countries, and my time did not permit me to seek out all accounts relating to that country, you will nevertheless find a place for some particular results of my researches.

A report of Marillac, of Feb. 26, 1551, to the King of France, contains the following accounts of an elder Spinola.

There is here, in Augsburgh, a Captain Spinola, who comes from Rhodes, and who is much esteemed for his knowledge in fortifications and engineering. I knew him in former times in the East, where he was a slave of Barbarossa, and much esteemed by him. At the time of the Smalcaldic league, he served under the Marquess of Marignan, as captain of artillery in the Emperor's service; he afterwards served in Sicily, and lastly, supplied the methods and means

for the capture of the town Africa. In th
stance he considered himself not sufficiently r
ed, in consequence of the jealousy of the Vic
Sicily, and was desirous to enter the French s
He promised nothing less than by his accurate
ledge of the circumstances of Sicily, to plac
island in the hands of the king. With resp
artillery, he professes to be able to point out v
improvements and savings of expense. In
concerns his compensation, he deals privatel
the king, and will not admit of interferenc
stipulates, that in the case of any remarkab
vice, he may be specially rewarded.

In the summer of 1662 *, there arrived i
camp of the younger and famous Spinola, 3 o
Cossacks; of whom Valareso writes,—"Many
tain they will be more useful to destroy than to

[redacted]

for the capture of the town Africa. In this instance he considered himself not sufficiently rewarded, in consequence of the jealousy of the Viceroy of Sicily, and was desirous to enter the French service. He promised nothing less than by his accurate knowledge of the circumstances of Sicily, to place that island in the hands of the king. With respect to artillery, he professes to be able to point out various improvements and savings of expense. In what concerns his compensation, he deals privately with the king, and will not admit of interference; but stipulates, that in the case of any remarkable service, he may be specially rewarded.

In the summer of 1662 *, there arrived in the camp of the younger and famous Spinola, 3 or 4000 Cossacks; of whom Valareso writes,—"Many maintain they will be more useful to destroy than to fight."

May 26, 1624 †. Valareso writes—the Duke of

* Brienne's MSS., No. 89.

† Bernard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, born 1600, younger brother of Ernest the Pious, Duke of Saxe Gotha. He began his brilliant military career in the campaign of 1621, conducted by the Margrave of Baden Dourlach in behalf of the Elector Palatine. He served under Duke Christian, of Brunswick, against Tilly, in 1623, and when Christian IV., of Denmark, took up arms in 1625, for the Protestant cause, he received from that monarch the command of the cavalry, and shared the

Weimar is arrived these two days since in London

reverses of his army. He was reconciled to the Emperor in 1627, by the intervention of Wallenstein; but upon the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, immediately joined that great man, and became one of his most distinguished officers. His dissensions with Oxenstiern were the occasion of his being invested with a separate command, and in 1632, he penetrated as far as the Tyrol, and was rapidly proceeding in the conquest of that country, when he was recalled to oppose the advance of Wallenstein. He was again, in the course of the campaign, detached from the main army, and conducted his operations with great ability and success. Having once more joined Gustavus, he was present at the battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus fell. He then assumed the chief command of the Swedish army, though Oxenstiern, in opposition to the general voice of the soldiers, procured that the appointment should only be provisional. His subsequent exploits are too numerous and too brilliant for such notice as could be inserted here. His last campaign of 1638 was the most successful, and memorable for the defeat of the Imperialists at Rhinfeld, and for the reduction of that fortress, Fribourgh and Brisach, reputed three of the strongest places in Europe, and for seven victories in the field. His career was cut short by a fever in 1639, in the 36th year of his age. Sweden, Spain, and France were in turn accused of having brought about this premature decease, but without proof or probability. Of the generals of his time he was certainly only second to Gustavus. For chastity and religion he has been compared to Scipio and Bayard. He was

from Calais, and as yet has spoken with none but the envoys of the Palatinate.

May 3 and 10. He goes on:—Count Mansfeld*

ambitious; but his talents justified his ambition.—Valareso's Dispatch of July 22, 1622, B. II.; see also Schiller for his character. [Tr.]

* This was the famous general, Peter Ernest, Count Mansfeld, who opposed with so much energy and success the ambitious designs of the House of Austria in Germany; of whom Schiller says,

> "He of Halberstadt,
> That Mansfeld, wanted but a longer life
> To have marked out with his good sword a lordship
> That should reward his courage."
>
> COLERIDGE'S WALLENSTEIN, Act II. Sc. XI.

He was a natural son of the illustrious German race which takes its name from the Castle of Mansfeld, in Upper Saxony. Educated in the Catholic faith, and legitimized for his military services in Hungary by Rodolph II., but having been, nevertheless, excluded from his family possessions in the Netherlands, he espoused, in 1610, the religion and the cause of the Protestants. In 1618 he commanded the Bohemian insurgents against the Emperor, and fought their battles with various success, but unexampled pertinacity and courage. In 1625, he invaded Germany with an army collected at the expense of France and England, (as adverted to in the text,) and supported by a system of pillage, which obtained for its leader the name of At-

has been received here with great honour *, and inhabits the apartment which was intended for the Infanta. The people say he wishes to remain in England, and bestow his treasures there. The Spaniards scoff at him, and think that bad fortune pursues him every where. The Venetian ambassador sought to persuade him that a great alliance would lead to nothing, and that they must put in motion the vacillating King James, but not mix up the French so much in the affairs of the palatinate.

Had Mansfeld remained longer, the difficulties would have increased daily, and what he executed in his affairs did not answer to the splendour of his reception. They sent him from Pontius to Pilate, and

tila. Defeated by Wallenstein, at Dessau, in 1626, he traversed Germany in order to join the Transylvanian leader of insurgents, Bethlen Gabor. Frustrated in this project by the conduct of the latter, he quitted his army, and endeavoured to effect his return to England by way of Venice. He was arrested by illness near Zara, and dying there, in 1626, in the fortieth year of his age, was buried at Spalatro. He is said to have breathed his last in full armour, and standing, supported by two of his officers. He was one of the greatest partizan leaders upon record. [Tr.]

* Vergey's Letters, Pt. II. (in Card. Gramelle's Papers) contain much respecting Mansfeld's affairs in 1622. It appears that he took money from France, and even negociated with Philip III. about entering his service.

left all at last to the decision of France. The H
landers laid difficulties in his way, the Elector Pa
tine failed to stand by him, (perhaps on account
Brunswick,) the Spaniards worked against him in
ways, and the French ambassador has done him m
injury than profit by the mixture of good and evil
his conduct towards him.

Upon the dealings of France in relation to t
thirty years' war, the following letters of 1624 a
1625 contain some information *.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO HIS AMBASSADOR EFFIA
IN LONDON.

Oct. 10, 1624.

I give the Count Mansfeld 60000 dollars monthl
Venice gives 40000, Savoy 20000 †. As the who

these affairs on different principles, as the welfare of Christianity and my allies may require.

THE FRENCH MINISTER, VILLEANCLERC TO EFFIAT.

Nov. 24, 1624.

As much share will be taken in the affairs of the Palatinate and England as the good of France permits, who cannot involve herself in open and lasting war with Spain in a cause where she can look to gain nothing. For all the evil consequences may easily fall upon us, while the most fortunate result can only extend to hindering an increase of power to others. This is in itself important, but not sufficiently so that we should venture every thing for it, and convert the House of Austria, the Pope, the Catholic Princes of the League, and the Princes and Republics of Italy into enemies. It is true, some of them wish to weaken the stronger, but are not inclined to declare themselves openly, and least of all for a Protestant prince.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO HIS AMBASSADOR BLAINVILLE *, IN LONDON.

Oct. 22, 1625.

England ought to know that I am no feeble ally,

* Blainville's Negociations, Vol. II. p. 117. Chambre du Levant.

and that I have, on her account, stirred up the movement in Lower Saxony. For Monsieur Des Hayes, who was in former years at the court of King Christian IV., of Denmark, has moved him to act, and I have promised him 600,000 livres up to Easter, and an equal sum for next year, if required. Monsieur de la Picardiere is now with him, in order to confirm him in his resolutions, and to encourage the States of Lower Saxony, as well as the Hanse towns, to come forward in defence of their liberty, and for the restoration of the Elector Palatine.

The earliest mention of Wallenstein occurs in a report of the French ambassador Pericard *. He writes from Brussels. February 28th, 1619.—The messenger from Brussels has brought a proposal to raise 1000 horse† for the Emperor at the cost of the Baron Von Walstein, without the Emperor, or the King of Spain, or the Archduke having a share in the transaction.

To this period belongs a letter of Wallenstein, of June 29, 1629, from Gustrow to the Swedish agent in Stralsund, Stenbeilke‡. He speaks of the situation

* Brasset depesches ecrites durant l'ambassade de Bruxelles de M. de Pericard depuis 1616—1624. S. Germain, No. 1156, fol.

† Une levée de mille chevaux.

‡ St. Germain MSS. No. 1134. fol.

of Stralsund, and the sending back of the Swedish ambassadors from the negotiations for peace at Lubeck. This measure was grounded on the assumption, that any third party might otherwise have been able to prefer similar demands to those of Sweden; but in this case, negotiations for peace between two parties only were under discussion, viz., the Emperor and the King of Denmark. These required no mediation, and if the Swedes had any thing to communicate to the Emperor, their ambassador might apply to him or to Wallenstein, and would receive a befitting answer. Neither is there any ground for complaint that the Emperor dismisses some troops with which he can dispense, which Arnhim, at his discretion, marches to Prussia, and which take an oath of fidelity to the King of Poland. The Emperor and the King of Poland have been, of old, in friendly relation to each other.

LETTER VII.

Description of the Diet at Ratisbon. 1630*.

THE Diet at Ratisbon of 1630, was of such importance to the political history of Germany, that its negociations and their results are recounted in all historical works which refer to that period. These works, however, contain little or nothing on the manners, usages, festivities, processions, &c., &c., although in other points of view, these are instructive and characteristic. I communicate, therefore, a report of an eye-witness, who seems to have observed the proceedings with no other view †.

The Emperor Ferdinand II. arrived on Wednesday, June 19, 1630, at three of the afternoon, in Ratisbon. Full two hours sooner, commenced the procession of baggage waggons, and the lower class of people attached to the court, till at last arrived the German and Hungarian carriages of state. With

* Held by the Emperor, Ferdinand II., on the occasion of Gustavus Adolphus landing in Germany. [Tr.]

† MSS. Dupuy, Vol. x., p. 180, in French.

them came many horsemen, chiefly Hungarian, on white horses, with manes, tails, and feet, painted red. The riders wore long coats of red or blue cloth, fitted close to the body, and fastened in front with buttons and cords, under which appeared a vest of damask, velvet, or satin. Their boots were of red yellow morocco, and the spurs fastened to the sole. The fur caps not turned up, with a long feather standing straight, a quiver hanging over the shoulder, a sabre with a silver guarded hilt, and no other arms. After followed the carriage of the King of Hungary *, drawn by six bay horses, postillion, coachman, halberdiers, and servants with heads bare, with cinnamon coloured coats turned up with red velvet. The pages rode at the side, only one standing behind each carriage.

Prince Ferdinand is about twenty-two years of age, slender, a long, lean visage, the lips thick, no beard, hair black, cut short to the head, with two locks after the Spanish fashion on the temples; dressed after the Italian fashion in gold stuff, with a dark ground. At the right hand door of the carriage was the first intendant of the household; in front, the first chamberlain. Next came the Emperor's carriage, four-cornered, open, resting on four pillars,

* Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor.

the roof of red leather, lined with red velvet, and drawn by six horses. The guard and household bareheaded, on foot, the pages on horseback. The Emperor sat forwards, and opposite to him the Empress. Both dressed in the Italian fashion, in a kind of silver stuff, with a blue ground and gold trimming. He bears the appearance of a man of fifty-five years, of very moderate stature, short beard, hair red mingled with gray, and somewhat hanging down in the German fashion. The Empress Eleanor, born Princess of Mantua, is thirty-five years old, fresh, cheerful, full countenance, black eyes; hands, teeth, and complexion, all excellent. The Emperor's daughters, whose carriage followed, are large, well grown, seventeen—eighteen years old, white skin and white hair, after the German fashion. The eldest, Anna Maria, is somewhat browner than the younger, Cecilia Renata. Eighty horsemen followed their carriage on white horses, and another troop of light horsemen, who had more the appearance of soldiers than of gentlemen.

The Lutheran magistracy of the city went out to meet the Emperor, dressed in black silk and short German coats: gold chains round the neck, and swords at the side. Six of them carried a yellow baldaquin, in the centre of which was to be seen the Imperial eagle. The Emperor would not, however,

make use of it, either because it rained, or because no Elector was there to accompany him, as was his due. Yet he staid for a while between the two portals of the great gate of Austria, partly to be there received by them, and partly to listen to the music stationed hard by, which struck up when the cannons of the city ceased to fire. The armed burghers formed two ranks in the street, and it was forbidden to fire off a musket on pain of death.

In addition to many decorations of honour with which the streets were adorned, triumphal arches had been erected. The devisers of one of them had availed themselves of the three crowns of the Emperor, with the inscriptions,—*legitimè certantibus*,—and *mihi unicè erit*. These three crowns of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, are also to be found on the halberds or partizans of the body guard. On the second arch was represented a great Imperial eagle, which also bore on its breast the Austro-Burgundian arms. The inscription related to the Emperor's reception.

The Electors also came into the city in good order and pomp, at the head of their men. First, Maximilian of Bavaria, about fifty-five years old, his head pretty bald, his beard fuller, but red and grizzled. He is a very pious and moderate prince, of good knowledge in painting and sculpture; works himself in these arts, and speaks, besides German,

Italian, Spanish, French, Latin, Hungarian, and Sclavonic. The Elector, Ferdinand of Cologne, is about fifty, but has as fresh and full an appearance as if he were only forty. His hair is still black, and he is not so low of stature as his brother the Elector of Bavaria. He wears an under vest of damask or light velvet, and over that a mantle of damask or strong taffety.

Every elector attended the audience of the Emperor. The Elector of Treves proceeded from his residence opposite the Lutheran church, to the great place, past the palace of the King of the Romans. At the head of his procession went twenty persons of the nobility, or otherwise of distinction, with heads covered; next the body guard in hoquetons or cassocks, part dressed walloon fashion, in dove-coloured and embroidered coats and mantles. Six pages wore stockings half turned down, coats of velvet broidered with gold, of the colour of the dead rose leaf, and satin hose of the same colour. The carriage, built walloon fashion, was of black leather without, and red within, studded with gold nails; the seats of red velvet, and the front curtain of red satin. The gentlemen were dressed in the old French or walloon fashion.

The spiritual Electors assert precedence over the lay; on which account the Elector of Mentz, al-

though he arrived only on the 25th, received an audience of the Emperor so early as eight o'clock the next morning. He had twenty or thirty gentlemen with him, dressed for the most part in the French fashion, but very warmly for the season, in heavy stuffs, strongly broidered with gold.

The following of the Elector of Cologne is less than that of his brother the Elector of Bavaria, but he himself shews more urbanity and courtesy. Lodgings for five hundred persons are bespoke for him, and it is reckoned that he will spend 400,000 crowns if the Diet last till September. His pages wear black velvet cassocks, (roupilles,) embroidered in blue and white; blue silk hose embroidered in like manner; brown mantles turned up with blue, and laced. He has a body guard, the half of which is dressed Switzer fashion, with blue and white *pads*, open worked stockings, coats of black velvet, mantles of black cloth turned up with blue velvet and adorned with blue satin. The mounted body guard has longer coats, ornamented in the same manner, and carry a partizan, or hooked battle axe, in the shape of a tongue, or a knife. The carriages are of black leather lined with black velvet.

LETTER VIII.

Thirty years' war.—The Elector of Saxony and Tilly.—Battle near Leipzig.—Oxenstiern, and Bernhard of Weimar at Paris.—Marshal Chatillon.—Discipline and rules of war.—Prisoners.—Brienne's Writings.—D'Avaux and Servien.—Trautmansdorf.

I HAVE found no continuous and connected series of accounts relating to the thirty years' war. Some isolated ones I here subjoin.

In the extract* of a diary of the campaign of Gustavus Adolphus, is the following. August 28th came three envoys from Tilly; viz., Furstenbergh, Metternich, and Cratzen, to the Elector of Saxony, and submitted to him what follows: He was collecting troops, said they, no one knew with what object. Inasmuch as the Emperor had been ever friendly to him, and disposed to protect him against his enemies, as well as in the possession of his ter-

* Extrait d'un Journal des Guerres du Roi de Swede mis par ecrit par un secretaire du Roi depuis 29 Mai, 1630, jusqu'en 1652, November 16. Dupuy, Vol. 468.

ritories, he ought to declare himself against the King of Sweden. The Elector answered: "My preparations are not directed against the Emperor, but against whosoever attempts to disturb me in my territories. I am, moreover, in nowise bound to give account to the Count Tilly, but will sufficiently justify myself to the Emperor. If he chooses to leave and maintain me in repose, he has nothing to apprehend, for I am armed only for the sake of religion and peace; but certain it is the Emperor has promised me much and performed but little." Hereupon answered Metternich: He could not believe that this was so. For rather was the Emperor now minded to secure the Elector in the possession of all that belonged to him. The Elector, however, bad him be silent, for that he spoke lies.

Later, at table, the Elector drank to the health of Furstenberg and Cratzen, and said: "Your healths I can well drink, for you are soldiers and gallant men; but the health of that Metternich I cannot drink. He is a * * * and a priest's drudge. The priests have stirred up all this mischief, may the devil take them therefore. Metternich was very impatient at this, and would fain have departed, but his companions persuaded him to remain. As soon as they had departed, a trumpeter of Tilly's appear-

ed and demanded a final and distinct declaration; the orders of the Emperor must otherwise be fulfilled.

Respecting the battle near Leipzig, I find the following, by an anonymous eye-witness *.

The battle began between one and two in the afternoon, and ended with nightfall. The Saxons, who shewed themselves the most, were also the first attacked; but what with the howl of the Croats, the hailstorm of musketry, and the thunder of the cannons, they first fell into disorder, and then became disbanded, and fled five good German miles without looking behind them. In the moment when the Saxons were attacked, the same thing happened to the Imperial cavalry, who were charged by the Swedish. After one or two blows, the former were driven from the field. Then Gustavus Adolphus turned upon the Imperial infantry, which had pressed on into the Saxon camp, and with such force, that these brave troops were nearly destroyed. Tilly (who learned too late the defeat of his cavalry) was forced to fly with the loss of cannon, camp, and booty. Never did he find himself in such a party of pleasure. He received three pistol shots, on the right breast, the right side, and in the back, but they only passed

* Dupuy, Vol. xxxvi., p. 40, in French.

through his clothes and shirt. The balls were, however, flattened, and the places of his body injured. He received also several blows with a pistol on the right arm, and the nape of the neck, so that the barber who bandaged him, told me, he could hardly get over it. He fled five good leagues away, and then betook himself with the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg, and the Counts Furstenberg and Kronenberg, in a carriage to Halle, but without servants or other attendance. Pappenheim came wounded to Merseburgh; on the following day, he and Tilly betook themselves further towards Halberstadt and Wolfenbüttel, where they think to fortify themselves. The slaughter was great. The killed are estimated at from 10 to 12,000, the prisoners at 7000. The Swedes took 88 standards, 35 cornets, all the baggage, and 28 cannons; among these, six with the Bavarian arms, and six with those of the Palatinate, 48 pounders, of which each was drawn by 40 horses.

Respecting the residence of Oxenstiern and Bernhard of Weimar at Paris, a MS. contains the following *.

April 26, 1635. Oxenstiern had an audience of Louis XIII. He resided in one of the best houses of the city, which had been fitted for him in a costly

* Bibl. Royale MSS. No. 9552, fol. 12 and 18.

manner, and was waited upon by officers of the royal household itself, together with his own suite. The king drew a ring worth 12,000 dollars from his finger, and presented it to the Chancellor, and afterwards gave him also a box with his own portrait, worth 6000 dollars.

March 8, 1636. Bernhard of Weimar had his audience. The doubt, whether he should remain covered or not in the presence, he proceeded to clear up by his own authority, and was on the point of putting on his hat, when the king, who remarked this, took off his own in haste, and all remained uncovered.

In the writings and memorabilia of the Marshal Chatillon *, there is much various information upon the conduct of wars, discipline, and laws of war. The following are specimens:—

April 9, 1635. The king writes to Chatillon:—I hear that the greater part of the regiments which are come out of Picardy, are very weak and therefore not able to perform their duty; give them to understand my displeasure. On the other hand, Chatillon complains of want of means of subsistence, and negligence of commissaries; the peasants, in conclusion,

* Receuil de diverses Lettres, Instructions, et autres Memoires de 1635—1641. 9 Vol. fol. Bibl. Roy. MSS., 9256—9264.

complain of the intolerable license of the troops, and that weak regiments cause as much to be supplied to them as if they were at their full complement*.

A letter of March 15, 1636, runs:—The peasantry determine, in their despair, to defend themselves against the military, and say aloud, as soon as they have sown their oats, they will leave every thing, and go where they can. And in truth, the half of the villages in Champagne are so wasted, that neither hay nor oats are to be found in them †. Robbers have made themselves masters of several chateaux, and make the roads unsafe; many troops are without officers.

Chatillon remarked, not without reason, that in the beginning of a war, and in a rich country, an army can well enough move without provisions, but not in an exhausted district ‡; for which reason, the large army of Galla, in 1636, after two days' stay in Burgundy, suffered the greatest want §. For the winter of 1637, infantry and cavalry were stationed in the walled towns for the maintenance of order, the expenses of their quartering were apportioned among all those who were liable to taxes, the wants of the

* 19th April, 1635. 12th February and 7th March, 1636.

† 15th March, 1636; 10th April and 16th May, 1637.

‡ 6th June, 1637.

§ Vol. 9258.

soldiers were supplied, and they were forbid to help themselves to any thing.

Chatillon's army, after an inspection which took place at St. Germain's in 1638, counted 19,070 infantry, and 6,500 cavalry; but on the 1st of May, he found no more than 11,047 infantry and 3,059 cavalry. Every soldier who quits the army without leave, is to be punished with death, or at least with the galleys*. Only the commander-in-chief can give leave of absence. No absent soldier receives pay, and the carriages appointed for provisions, are not to be loaded with the officers' baggage.

July 18, 1639. Chatillon writes to the minister Desnoyers†:—I have found great want among the infantry. The pikemen are ill armed, for they have no corslets, and their pikes are weak and short. A third of the army is in general ill clothed, and has more the appearance of blackguards than of soldiers.

In a sharp order respecting discipline, November 29, 1639‡, we find:—The officers and soldiers keep their appointed pay, and receive nothing from their hosts but bed and bedding, room by their fire, and their light; they may not, under any pretext, demand wood or means of light, or any thing else in substance

* Vol. 9259, p. 27. † Vol. 9260, p. 3—9. ‡ pp. 262, 272.

or money, from their hosts or other inhabitants, upon pain of the penalties of extortion (concussion) to the officer, and death to the soldier.

All this was well and praiseworthy; inasmuch, however, as the pay seldom came in at the appointed time, the towns were compelled to make great advances, else the extortions began again, or the soldiers disbanded themselves.

On this subject, Chatillon writes to Desnoyers, September 2, 1640 *:—Take measures that we be punctually provided for in future, otherwise the soldiers will absent themselves from the camp in search of provisions, and will be often a prey to the peasantry or the enemy.

The day after the above, September 3, the king communicated the following disposition to Chatillon:—As I see that the disbanding is almost universal in my army, and all the endeavours to watch the roads have hitherto failed to restrain the insolence and cowardice of the deserters, I hold the best means to be, to surround the army with posts of cavalry, under orders to arrest every one who absents himself without leave, that he may be punished as a deserter with the full severity of the law, before the whole army. Whoever suffers a deserter to pass, to suffer the same punishment.

* Vol. 9262.

In an order of August 26, 1640, we find:— only do the common soldiers desert, but their offic who ought to set an example against such practi quit their employments without leave, almost in instant of their receiving them, as though they co in so short a time have attained the qualities o true soldier, or escape the shame of having quit king and country in times of danger, in order to quiet at home. On this account, the soldiers w absent themselves are punished with death.

The officers who quit the camp without a form leave of absence, under the hand of the general, los if they are noble, rank and nobility for themselv and their descendants, and are brought on the list persons liable to taxes. If they are roturiers, the

iron.—These last regulations were found too severe, and were never reduced to practice.

An order of August 1639, upon the exchange of prisoners, settles:—Soldiers and officers of similar ranks shall be exchanged one against the other *. Otherwise—

A captain of cavalry pays		80	Spanish pistoles.
Do.	infantry	60	do.
A lieutenant		10	do.
A cornet		10	do.
A private, cavalry or infantry		2½	do.

Servants, boys, women and children, are not liable to ransom. For his subsistence, a captain pays per diem sixteen, a lieutenant ten sous.

Among the Royal MSS. at Paris are eighteen volumes of the letters and state papers of the minister Brienne †, which contain, with respect to the time of 1643, among much that is uninteresting, much also that is attractive.

A letter of the Queen Anne, of September 25, 1693, upon the scandalous proceedings and intrigues of the Duchess of Chevreuse, and the grounds of her exile.

A severe reprimand of August 12, 1644, to D'Avaux and Servien, on account of their indecent disputes. They are admonished to lay them aside at all rates,

* Vol. 9260. † Fond. Gaigmerès, vol. 510.

and even to forget and obliterate the recollectio
them, as becomes men of their rank and conditio

Complaints, May 6, 1646:—That the Swedes
seek their junction with the French forces whe
want of aid, but at other times resort to excuses.

Complaint, June 22, 1646:—That Trautmans
turns to the Swedes by preference, grants them m
things demanded, but troubles himself not at all a
the French.—For further and more accurate per
I had not time.

LETTER IX.

Characteristics of Austrian Commanders and Statesmen.—Prince Charles of Lorraine.—Maximilian of Bavaria.—Louis of Baden.—The Counts Caprara, Stahrenbergh, Caraffa.—Prince Eugene of Savoy.—Count Zrini.

It is known that Louis XIV. obtained, by means of able ambassadors, accurate intelligence respecting foreign courts. I should conjecture that the following traits of principal persons who possessed influence at Vienna in 1689, spring from such a source *.

* Bibl. Harleiana, No. 6845, fol. 144.

The imperial throne was at this period occupied by Leopold I., and that sovereign was employing all the resources of the empire to oppose the ambitious designs of Louis XIV., which, in the ten years subsequent to the peace of Nimeguen, had fully developed themselves in the shape of multifarious insult and aggression on the empire. For this purpose Leopold had, in conjunction with Sweden and the principal members of the Germanic body, formed the league of Augsburgh in 1686. At the period adverted to in the text, the allies had derived recent and great encouragement to their designs from the success of the Prince of Orange in his invasion of England, and on the 12th May, 1689, the league of Augsburgh was followed up by an offensive alliance between the Emperor and the States-

The Prince Charles of Lorraine * is a man of

General of Holland; England, Spain, Savoy, and Denmark, afterwards joining this great confederacy. The reduction of Mayence and Bonn were the principal fruits of the campaign of 1689, but an inadequate vengeance for the cruel ravage of the Palatinate, perpetrated by the French in the previous year. [Tr.]

* Charles V., Duke of Lorraine, born at Vienna in 1643, had passed his earlier years in France, but disagreements with Louis XIV. induced him to quit that country and enter the military service of the Emperor Leopold I. He served in the Turkish war of 1664, and distinguished himself by killing a Turkish officer in single combat, in the presence of the two armies. In 1674, he succeeded his uncle, Charles IV. of Lorraine, in that duchy. He held important commands in most of the campaigns against the French of this period, but his talents and valour did not enable him to recover possession of his hereditary dominions, occupied by France, and he was one of the few parties concerned on the side of the empire who did not profit by the treaty of Nimeguen in 1679. The year previous he had married the emperor's sister, the Archduchess Mary Eleanor, Queen Dowager of Poland. He took an active part in the campaign of 1689, and the reduction of Mayence and Bonn, achieved by him in conjunction with the Elector of Brandenburgh, concluded his military career. He died on his journey back towards Vienna in the spring of the following year. Louis XIV. complimented him with the title of—Le plus sage et le plus genereux de ses ennemis. Other authorities, among them the Prince de Ligne, have borne high testimony to his military talents. [Tr.]

great and natural bravery, who makes nothing of the greatest dangers, and exposes himself to them without claiming to be noticed, and neither knows fear nor makes an ostentation of his fearlessness. He has much judgement, listens quietly to every man, and is pleased when people, whom he thinks intelligent, say to him what they think. He possesses a spirit of order, but no comprehensive views, and would conduct a battle better than he would draw up the plan of a campaign: very disinterested, of simple manners, averse from all pomp, loyal, pious, and a true and zealous adherent to the Emperor. As, however, no man is perfect, some errors are mixed up with his great and good qualities. He wants fire in his temperament, and is indeed so slow, that, unless very active generals be appointed to act under him, many favourable occasions of injuring the enemy may be lost. From the same cause arise disorders on the march, in the subsistence, the guards, and other particulars, which contribute much to the ruin of an army. The Prince is finally accused of a failing to which devout persons are sometimes subject, that of indulging aversions: by this is explained his persecution of the House of Baden, and the overthrow of the Prince Hermann; yet, in fact, he gave into these proceedings only out of weakness towards the views of his favourites.

In command he shews himself hard and severe, and as he does not burthen the officer with many orders, he exacts that those he gives should be punctually executed. He is not eat up with the lust of fame, but loves glory; he will never fix his constant attention on what may further his interest, or drive great alliances against France, or produce great plans of war, or procure the means of recovering his own dominions, but should others do all these things for him, he is much to be dreaded at the head of an imperial army. In a word, the Prince of Lorraine is a dangerous man on a day of battle; but it would seem not impossible to overthrow him before he can fight it.

The Elector Maximilian * of Bavaria is naturally

* Maximilian Emanuel, born 1662, succeeded his father in 1679. Distinguished for his services in the memorable defence of Vienna against the Turks, and generally in the campaigns of Austria against Turkey and France. In 1691 he was rewarded with the government of the Austrian Netherlands. His marriage with Maria Antonia, daughter of Leopold I., by Margaret, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, gave him some pretensions to the crown of Spain, and his son, Joseph Ferdinand, prepared to assert them, but was prevented by an early death. Maximilian afterwards entered into treasonable negociations for introducing the French into the Austrian Netherlands, and securing a portion of that country to himself. He was put under the ban of the empire, and deprived of his Bavarian

very brave, and war would never tire him, if there were fighting every day. Skirmishes are his delight, and he is unwilling to leave them in order to give his orders, as a commander must, in quarters where there is less firing. He would understand the art of war if he would apply himself to it, but at present he takes to no part of it but battles, assaults, victories, and their fruits. All the rest he leaves to his officers, troubles himself about no particulars, takes little care for his soldiers, neither rewards the worthy nor punishes the idle, and knows little of the conduct and design of a war in a large and general sense. His amusements are preferred by him to every thing; he fears all employment and exertion; those amusements are therefore limited to running after a mistress or a stag. He is indifferent about the finances of his states, but careful and watchful of the money which comes into his pocket. In short, he has courage and mind, and might be a great man if he would—but his will is to be doubted.

dominions by Joseph I., Leopold's successor, the battle of Blenheim having, in the last year of Leopold's reign, placed those dominions at the mercy of Austria. The treaty of Rastadt, which followed the peace of Utrecht in 1706, restored him to his possessions, and he was afterwards so far reconciled with Austria, as to assist that power against the Turks. He died in 1726. [Tr.]

Prince Louis of Baden * is a thorough warrior, loves his calling, and bestows all his energies upon it. Ever ready, active, and in the case of being a great commander, if his arrogance do not injure him; for he listens to no counsel, and even when compelled to follow any, he does so late, and never without having altered some part of the scheme, that it may be believed to be purely his own device. He aims at the appearance of being easy to live with, but he is the reverse so soon as one ceases to pay him blind deference; seldom just in praise or blame, distributing both according to his interest, unfitted to conduct himself at court, free spoken, and offensive to his sovereign. Thus he possesses at once all the qualities for the successful conduct of an army, and for taking away from every one all inclination to entrust to him its command.

The Count Caprara † has got his military advance-

* Louis William I., Margrave of Baden-Baden, born 1655. He was also famous for his share in the repulse of the Turks from Vienna, and for many other campaigns against the Turks, the trophies of which are still to be seen at Rastadt. His services against France were scarcely less distinguished, though less uniformly successful. He died in 1707, having served in twenty-six campaigns, commanded at twenty-five sieges and thirteen general actions. [Tr.]

† Albert, Count of Caprara, born at Bologna 1631, nephew

ment through the interest of his uncle Montecuculi; and as his fortune could only be made in war, has often shewn the courage which becomes a soldier of fortune. His counsels are always to the purport of risking nothing, and exhibit that degree of caution which belongs to fear. People of this stamp, without being themselves aware of the existence of such an origin to their motives, get a habit, out of fear and concern for themselves, of considering the most timid resolutions the best. He possesses the intelligence which is necessary to maintain him in good terms with the minister, to prevent him from being feared by the latter, or from exciting any general suspicion. It amuses him to see a camp sacked, and he loves to take his share in the diversion.

Count Stahrenberg is very brave, but bravery is a dangerous virtue to a commander when it is alone. He is fiery, quick to anger, and not more praised for his defence of Vienna, than he is blamed, on the other hand, for his bad conduct at the siege of Buda.

Caraffa, the leader of the cavalry, counts among his services the cruelties which he practised in Hungary, the sums which he extorted from the wretches

to the famous general Montecuculi. He served the House of Austria in forty-four campaigns against the Turks and French, and was also employed in diplomatic transactions at the peace of Nimeguen and as envoy to Constantinople. [Tr.]

there, and the discovery of conspiracies which, as is said, never took place, but were worked to the profit of the Emperor. He is believed to be a man of great ability in levying contributions; every one concedes to him much wit.

Prince Eugene of Savoy possesses great courage, more good sense than wit, and sufficient instruction. He strives hard to become a good warrior, and is very capable of attaining his object. Love of glory, ambition, and all the sentiments of a man of elevation, are peculiarly his own.

The Bavarian general, Count Zriny, has, in place of other qualities, much wit and cleverness, especially in forwarding his own objects and elevation. Thus he has found means to obtain the command of the Bavarian army, although the Elector does not esteem him; to draw from the Elector yearly against his will 5000 dollars, and to persuade the Emperor that it is only through him that Bavaria can be held firm to Austria. He lives in close connection with the Countess Kaunitz, and only takes the field because a general cannot be absent from it when his sovereign is there. He is always ailing, even when with the army. They say he has a great talent for avoiding affairs in the field, without letting others perceive that he does so.

LETTER X.

Description of Denmark in the time of the Thirty Years' War, by Torquato Pecchia.

About the time when a part of the imperial army had pressed forward, during the thirty years' war, to Denmark, Torquato Pecchia, maitre d'hôtel to the imperial commander, Torquato Conti *, drew up a description of that country, its constitution, inhabitants, customs, &c., and transmitted it to the Prince of San Gregorio. It deserves, on the score of its originality, to be printed entire ; in the mean time I extract some of the most attractive passages †.

In Denmark there are many villages, which, it is true, are not enclosed with walls, but have their own

* This officer was more distinguished for pillage than conquest, and his exploits in the former line obtained him the sobriquet of "the devil." He was the first to discover the talents of Mazarin, when serving under him in a military capacity in 1625; Conti at that time being in command of the Pope's army. [Tr.]

† MSS. Bibl. Roy. Vol. x. Relations Italiennes, Chambre du Levant, p. 219.

churches and pastors. If one of the latter die, his widow marries another, who, however, cannot enter on his vocation without the sanction of the king. Such a nomination, or confirmation, is requisite for all ecclesiastics and bishops. At present it is the duty of the General Conti, in the absence of the king*, to perform these acts; but as he is not inclined so to employ himself, he makes over the task to an officer of artillery. The whole land is thickly peopled, and all seem to be in good condition. For, without reckoning that on festivals they dress themselves very sumptuously, one finds no man so poor as not

* At this time Christian IV., who was born in 1577, succeeded to the throne in 1588, and concluded one of the longest reigns recorded in history, in 1648. At the age of twenty-two, he made a voyage round the North Cape in order to visit his dominions in Lapland, and provide against the encroachments of the Swedes and Russians in that quarter. His early intimacy with and patronage of Tycho Brahe, his fierce contests with a worthy antagonist, Gustavus Adolphus, and the great part which he afterwards took in the thirty years' war in behalf of the religious liberties of Germany, make him occupy a conspicuous place in history. His efforts, however, in the cause of protestantism were unsuccessful. The defeat of Lutter in 1626, cost him the possession of his dominions on the main land, which he only recovered by a disgraceful peace in 1629. It is to the period when the imperial forces were thus in possession of Denmark, that the description in the text refers. [Tr.]

to possess silver spoons and a silver cup. They are skilled in building houses of wood, thatched with straw, without using a single iron nail in their construction, so firm and well put together that they last a long time, and are proof against both wind and water.

The churches are remarkably handsome, have mostly five aisles, handsome towers, and bells. Many of the towns are on the coast, are well built, paved, provided with squares and fountains, and strongly fortified. Some roads are used only by the king, and those who pay a certain sum of money.

The gentry are so large of stature, that I believe St. Christopher came out of this country. The people are generally fair, light-haired, of good capacity, and addicted to the sciences. There is a preacher there who has a method of making wine out of water; of which wine I myself have tasted. He is about to go to Rome, to become a catholic, and means to wait upon your highness.

There is in Denmark a class of superstitious enchanters or conjurors, who dress themselves in a strange fashion, as appears from the drawings sent herewith. Most of them are at present departed with the king. As the country is very fertile, and within these hundred years has not been ravaged by war, it contains a good deal of wealth. The peasants are

obliged now to perform towards the military, services appertaining to the chace, which they formerly rendered to the king; and are compelled to undertake the charge of their dogs.

In Holstein there remained some families related to the king, and who connected themselves with their conquerors, but they are poor. The Duke of Gottorp on the other hand, is uncommonly wealthy, and possesses more territory than the Grand Duke, and well built handsome towns. The Imperial soldiers, however, oppress him and his so excessively, that he writes every day to their general Conti; prays, remonstrates, and begs for mercy; but the dog barks, and the ox grazes on.

All the inhabitants are Lutherans, and speak a language which is not entirely German, but mixed. When they speak, it sounds as if they were crying. In the islands of the neighbouring ocean, a language is spoken which no one understands. From want of wood, they burn dung and a sort of earth brought from the morasses which they call turta, and cut into the shape of tiles. Their victuals are dressed in a great kettle, into which they throw all the various articles, flesh, fish, eggs, &c., &c. In a similar manner they prepare their cheese, which, even when rotten, breeds no maggots.

Next the skin, men and women wear furs; and

the shirt and other garments over these. Their wooden shoes are made with great skill; the women's dress reaches only to the knee.

The horses are wilder than in other countries, and live almost always in the open air.

In time of peace one travels post, in carriages, in which, for the sake of greater lightness, there is not a single piece of iron. If one arrives at a morass, the carriage is taken to pieces with the greatest rapidity, and afterwards put together again.

In the island of Zealand there is a river, over which there is a bridge, and on one side there is a cavern. Every one is at liberty to pass over, but so soon as any one sets foot on the bridge, who intends any thing against the king, or looks to usurp the sovereignty, there rises from the cavern an alarum as though an army were approaching, and the bridge falls in. This has been seen and heard, has happened, and still takes place. In a certain part of the island, there are mice which, like so many devils, fly from the sign of the cross. If a ship approach this country, the mice spring into the water as if they were possessed.

All the inhabitants of this country are guilty of an unpardonable offence; they eat calves and other small (ungrown?) animals. The soldiers, men not

troubled with consciences, were so well pleased w
this custom, that it became necessary to forbid t
slaughter of calves.

When a bride and bridegroom came to be wedd
they both run to a goal, to which a bundle of str
is fastened. Whoever arrives first, possesses the s
vereignty of the household, the man becomes t
wife, and vice versâ. Out of the straw an ha
sock is made, on which the parties kneel in t
church.

When any one dies, they do not weep nor lame
but laugh, eat, drink, and dance round the bod
and lay valuables and other things in the grave, a
cording to their rank and means.

Married women, guilty of unchastity, are severel
punished. If a maiden become pregnant, her r

the same, thinking that his friend was drowned, he has found him sitting much gratified in a palace. In the same country they sell to ship captains, wind for certain hours in handkerchiefs. The handkerchief is loosened more or less as it is wished the wind should be stronger or weaker. I believe that these are illusions of the devil; but sure it is that what I tell is true.

I must give your Highness an account of a very beautiful custom which obtains at the court of the Duke of Gottorp. When in the evening at table, the lights begin to burn dim, a page brings a knife, spits upon it, wets his fingers likewise, lifts the candlestick up, trims the light with knife and finger in the presence of the Duke, sets the candlestick in its place, brings the knife back, and thus they manage all through the time of supper.

In Norway they travel on sledges, harnessed with rein deer. At starting the driver whispers in the beasts' ear whither he wishes to go, and then they run, without stopping, to the appointed place, and would rather be beat to death than go a step beyond it.

The Sieur Torquato Conti governs the conquered country with as great ease as though it were a village, with four hearths. The nobility wait upon him, and

the greater part have sworn fidelity to the Empero
Things, however, came under notice which exci
compassion; and I have seen soldiers drive the i
habitants like cattle before them, and beat them o
the place with sticks.

LETTER XI.

Hannibal of Sehestedt.—Frederick III.—Gabel.—Swaning.—Nantsen.

When the Count Hannibal of Sehestedt was in Paris in 1666, they endeavoured to obtain from him accounts of all the circumstances of Denmark; and it would appear that Colbert caused the particulars of his verbal communications to be collected in writing. We find at least, in the 11th Vol. of the Melanges de Colbert, a long note on the subject, from which I extract the following.

King Frederick III.* is a man of great intelligence, who knows how to unfold all the reasons for and against a measure; but by this quality is often led to delay the progress of an affair, while he is coming to a conclusion. He is very sensitive in respect of his honour, and would rather suffer and risk any thing than equivocate or put up with any thing incon-

* Famous for his defence of Copenhagen against the Swedes in 1658, and for establishing the absolute power of the crown in Denmark. [Tr.]

sistent with his dignity. It is easy to bring him to any thing upon honourable principles, but never on meaner considerations, or by the prospect of money, albeit he is often in want of the latter.

He is well instructed, takes pleasure in conversation with able and learned men, is moderate and temperate, equable in prosperity and adversity, stedfast and brave, an enemy to violence, a friend to justice wherever he recognizes it, very reserved, so that he imparts little of affairs even to the queen and the princes his sons. The most conspicuous of his ministers and the Stadtholder of Copenhagen, is Christopher Von Gabel. He was in the king's service thirty-five years back, when, as a younger son, the king was forced to content himself with the Archbishoprick of Bremen. Gabel loves pleasure, and, as a German, is attached to the mode of life of his country, but is very prudent, silent, and quick in business. He is moderately well acquainted with foreign affairs, and well inclined to the Dutch. He has the art of finding out the inclinations of the king, and attaching himself to them. The king listens to him therefore, and loves him tenderly, but follows his own views in preference to those of his minister. If the affair is balanced, and the king undetermined, Gabel knows in that case how to decide the scale. At times Gabel is disposed to commit the burthen of affairs to others; he is very sensitive to the honour shewn to him and

his, and somewhat French in his way of thinking, like the king. He is not in great favour with the queen and the prince.

The Bishop Swaning of Zealand is much respected by the clergy, and on that account feared by the king; on the other hand popular, because he has contributed much to alterations in the government. He is a zealous Lutheran, and but for him the king would not only have granted liberty of conscience to the Catholics, but for the sake of increasing trade, would have granted freedom of public worship in some towns. Swaning is learned, of good judgement, bold, saving, moderately well instructed in the affairs of other countries, and one of those who are most inclined to an alliance with France. He might be gained.

The President Nantsen is a man without scientific cultivation; much beloved by the citizens of Copenhagen; much hated by the nobility, as chief promoter of the last alterations in the state. Bold, of great and sound understanding, inclined towards the French and Dutch, but without any particular knowledge of foreign affairs.

LETTER XII.

Philip II.—Charles Vth's instructions to and habits.—Character of the Spaniar Silva.—Feria, Mendoza, Vargas, Granvel Escovedo, the Princess Eboli.

THE accounts of the internal conditio less copious than could be wished, fo Charles V., but they are still more s later period of Philip II. Under the Philips, history, indeed, resolves itself i of court intrigues, which would be a sn they were suppressed. The period of Phi the contrary, remains very remarkable as a transition, and even small notices of that re its working, cannot be unwelcome. Charles not allow his son to want for good advice and ful education; but was unable by these mea change his original disposition. In one of thes

to him *, to fill the places in the Church with learned and moral men, to abide by treaties of peace and promises, to put confidence in the King of the Romans, and in contests with the Pope not to infringe upon the rights of the latter. "I have always," adds the Emperor, "done my utmost to be well with the French, but never could make friends of them."

The following is extracted from another instruction in the Spanish language†:—Support the true faith, suffer no heresy to enter the country, favour the holy Inquisition, and take care at the same time, that its officers do not abuse their power. In other respects do nothing which can in any way be considered as bearing it prejudice. Do justice without hate or favour, and when you feel that you have either hate or passion, sanction no decision, especially if it be in a penal matter; for, although justice be the virtue which keeps us upright with regard to every man, yet be mindful of the great mercies which Jesus Christ shewed to us. Practise and acquire both virtues, so that the one do not destroy the other; for either, pushed to an extreme, would be no longer

* Memoires de Granvelle, Vol. IV. p. 29; undated.

† Instruction écrite de la main de Charles V. pour Philip II. 1593, Bib. royale MSS. Archives des Pays Bas. Gouvernement en general. (P. B. 2.) Vol. II., p. 310.

a virtue but a crime. Be in every thing considerate and moderate, sociable and affable. With anger and rashness we can effect nothing. Love the good, guard against the wicked; be cautious how you credit the advice of the young, or the complaints of the old.—These follow very useful precepts for the regulation of employment and habits of life; the Emperor warns his son above all things, not to undermine his constitution by debauchery; and takes this occasion to treat the position of a successor to the throne as involving duties of the highest importance, which ought not to be left to chance, but to be undertaken with an union and preparation of all the powers both of mind and body.

Let us now listen to some eye-witnesses, upon Philip's habits and character.

Michael Suriano * says, the king is of delicate complexion, lives therefore by rule, and eats usually nothing but very strong food, never touching fish, fruit, or things which contain bad juices. He sleeps much, and takes little exercise; he is more inclined to repose than labour. Although he is like his father in face and speech, in observance of religion, and in kindness and good faith; he is, however, unlike him in many other respects, on which the greatness of a

* Relatione di Spagna di Michele Suriano. Dupuy, Vol. 136.

sovereign is essentially founded. The Emperor understood warlike affairs well, and took delight in them; the king knows little about them, and has no inclination that way. The other loved great undertakings; this one avoids them. The other conceived honourable enterprizes, and conducted them in good time, and to his own great advantage; this one undertakes nothing worthy of his greatness. The other never allowed himself to be forced by threats or fear to any concession; this one, on slight suspicion, has given up his states a prey to his enemies. The other ruled in all things after his own views; this one after the opinion of others; and yet, again, he has no respect for any nation but the Spanish. Spaniards negociate, advise, govern, and, contrary to the custom of his father, Philip makes little out of Italians and Flemings, and less than all does he esteem the Germans.

Elsewhere Longlie *, a French ambassador, informs us:—The king is still so active, that all affairs go through his hands; besides this, he attends divine service regularly, goes out to walk with his children in fine weather, attends an hunting or fishing, &c. He prefers his country palaces and gardens to Madrid, having in the former more leisure and fewer au-

* Vie et occupations de Philippe II. Longlie Ambassades, Vol. 797. S. Germain, p. 109, probably the year 1588.

diences to give, which latter he loves not, and does not, indeed, positively refuse, but willingly postpones. The Infanta usually keeps him company, without, however, mixing herself in politics, or throwing in a word for any body, if it be not for one of her ladies at the utmost.

The following account, by the Venetian Badoer, of an earlier date, is more circumstantial *. King Philip is now thirty years old, of small stature and fine limbed. The forehead high and fair; azure eyes, tolerably large; strong eye-brows, not much parted; well shaped nose, great mouth, with an heavy, somewhat disfiguring, under lip, white and fair beard; in exterior a Fleming, but in haughty deportment a Spaniard. His temperament is melancholy and phlegmatic; he suffers from stomach pains, and side stitches, on account of which, by advice of his physicians, he goes much to the chace, as affording the best means of strengthening the body and ridding the spirit of melancholy thoughts. He hears mass daily, and on Sundays, sermon and vespers. He gives alms regularly, or on special occasions. So, for example, last year, in Brussels, when the poor were dying in the streets of cold and hunger, he caused bread, beer, straw, and fire-wood to be given

* In the year 1557.

out for 800 persons. They say at court, he asked his confessor whether his having done this could oppress his conscience; it is certain, at least, that in such cases he has had many consultations with his council *.

As nature has made this king of weak body, so has she constituted him also of timorous mind. He eats sometimes too much, particularly pastry, and likes variety in his food; with women he is intemperate, and likes to go about at night in disguise. His expenses in dress, furniture, liveries, &c., are not great. Out of doors he wears a mantle and cap; often, also, suits cut in the French fashion, or with large buttons, and feathers in his cap.

He shews himself rather composed than passionate, and tolerates persons and pretensions of unusual and not very befitting description. He speaks sometimes with sharpness and wit, and loves jesting and nonsense. Yet he shews this disposition less at table where buffoons are present, than when in the privacy of his apartment he lets himself loose and is merry. He possesses a good capacity, and one equal to great affairs, but is not active enough to rule over dominions so extensive as his; yet he may

* Badoer relazione. Colb. 5486. Bibl. Roy. 10083, (an eye-witness.)

diences to give, which latter he loves not, and
not, indeed, positively refuse, but willingly
pones. The Infanta usually keeps him com
without, however, mixing herself in politics
throwing in a word for any body, if it be not fo
of her ladies at the utmost.

The following account, by the Venetian Bado
an earlier date, is more circumstantial *. King
lip is now thirty years old, of small stature and
limbed. The forehead high and fair; azure e
tolerably large; strong eye-brows, not much par
well shaped nose, great mouth, with an heavy, so
what disfiguring, under lip, white and fair beard
exterior a Fleming, but in haughty deportmen
Spaniard. His temperament is melancholy
phlegmatic; he suffers from stomach pains, and s

of painting and sculpture, in which arts he makes, at times, attempts of his own. He speaks Latin well, understands Italian and some French. In usual practice he speaks Spanish, but speaks not much at any time. Altogether he is a prince in whom one finds much to be praised.

His court may amount at present to some 1500 persons, of whom nine-tenths are Spaniards, the rest, Flemings, Burgundians, Englishmen, Italians, and Germans. At this court, one sees nothing of assassinations, treasons, robberies, and other such like good-for-nothing proceedings. In prosperity, the tone of the court is too elated; in reverses, too depressed. The inmates of the court evidently take more delight in variety of dishes and wines than in occupation or conversation, above all, however, in love affairs; for except the period of their actual attendance on the king, they pass almost all their time in dalliance; yet are they sharp lookers out for gain, and more than tenacious. They dress themselves richly, even with too much care, and keep a great number of servants. The Spaniards, especially those of humbler origin, are proud, fall into rages on account of insignificant things, and think that every thing is true which in their passion they picture to themselves. Where they see clearly that a lie would stain their honour, they are wont to speak truth.

Buffoons, and people who make a profession at the court of amusing others, are much run after. They love their own nation so much, that they cannot endure to hear any other praised; and when a thrust is made at one of them, the others come to his aid: envy, however, hate, and persecution, have sway among them at other times.

To the above may be added what Badoer says of the most remarkable persons at Philip's court. Ruy Gomez, a Portuguese, of the noble race of Silva, and brother to the Duke of Eboli. No one, perhaps, has been so great a favourite of his master as he. This affection originated in the circumstances that his mother was nurse to the king, and that he was brought up with the king as a page. Once, as Ruy Gomez was quarrelling with another page, and Philip interposed, Ruy Gomez struck the latter unintentionally on the head, and was therefore condemned to death by the Emperor. This sentence, it is true, was remitted at the intercession of Philip, but the culprit was banished from the court. Upon this Philip fell into such a melancholy, that the Emperor was compelled to recal Gomez from exile.

Ruy Gomez is now thirty-nine years old, of middle stature, well shaped, intelligent eyes, rich dark beard, a strong natural constitution, but weakened, as it seems, by incredible exertions, and pale coun-

tenance. He possesses so noble a disposition, that I believe nature has been so liberal to few. He has no taste, however, for science, speaks only Spanish, but understands Italian. He is in all his deportment pleasing, full of courtesy, and endowed with the certain natural gifts which create good will and respect towards the man who possesses them. In experience of affairs he is deficient, or has acquired any such very lately; but his want of knowledge is supplied by the firmness of his purpose and his great abilities. He converses often and *tête-à-tête* with learned and well informed men, and introduces them to the king, and thus many determinations are made without advice of the rest of the council, and often against their opinion. Every one is welcome to him who wishes to serve the king, only they must not attempt to supplant himself from his position, like Alva, who sought to draw every thing into his own hands, though Philip had in his heart no inclination for him.

Ruy Gomez has no turn for war, and has never studied it or made campaigns, but by hearing much of it has learned to converse not badly upon it. He exerts himself in every manner to keep the king at peace with all his neighbours, infidels alone excepted.

Ruy Gomez overworks himself in business, and

takes too little sleep. For, in order to please the king and the court, he attends like others, plays, masquerades, tourneys, feasts, &c. Perhaps he looks to the king's service in the matter of his wife, who is young, and with whom he has not yet completed his marriage, unless it happened on his journey through Spain. It is matter of wonder that he should keep her removed, and not look to a posterity; but he seems generally to spend small thought upon his fortune or his family.

Feria is kind, discreet, a friend of Ruy Gomez; but without much knowledge of affairs.

Bernardin, of Mendoza; severe, rapacious, envious, of great capacity, but a bad man, by turns abusing and flattering the king.

Granvelle, very rich; but of less influence than under the Emperor.

Vargas, in the highest degree proud and choleric; a man of affairs, but who does not look to what is right, but to what is near his heart on other grounds. He has been accused of having accepted bribes to conceal the tyrannies of John de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily.

Upon the relations of the king to the princess Eboli, de Vair tells us, probably after the account of Antonio Perez: the king made court to the princess, and sent her presents through Antonio Perez, who

however pursued the affair more to his own profit than that of the king. Escovedo discovered this, and reproached Perez with it. In order to be beforehand with him, Perez told the king, "Escovedo stood in his way with the princess; if the king would cause Escovedo to be killed, and his papers to be seized, great discoveries would be made of the plans of Duke John of Austria."* The king gave the order in writing, Escovedo was killed, and all that he left behind him seized. Duke John hoped to become king of Spain, Philip at that time having no son. (Jan. 13, 1580.) St. Goar, the French ambassador, writes:—Perez is so watched in his house, that no one can see or speak with him, and the Princess Eboli is also still treated with all possible severity†.

These disgraceful intrigues and animosities ended with the escape of Perez to France. A voluminous collection of his letters, written thence, contains no new revelations, but I extract the following. In accordance with his prayer of Jan. 1, 1597, the king of France took him under his protection, and promised to use his influence that either he or his son should receive a cardinal's hat‡. As soon as possible

* Le Roi fit le billet. Dupuis, 651.

† St. Germain, vol. 794.

‡ Ant. Perez. Lettres Bib. roy. 9141, lettre 3. His wife dared not write to him from Spain, and begged him to return,

an income of 12,000 dollars should be assigned to him, or ecclesiastical estates and dignities, with an instruction to make it over to one of his sons. In the mean time he is to receive an income of 4000, or, if possible, 6000 dollars. Besides this he receives assistance towards his establishment as a counsellor of state, to which office the king appoints him, and a couple of Switzers as a guard for his person, against the attempts of the king of Spain. In treating for peace with Spain, the restoration of his property and the liberation of his family shall be stipulated. After they had learnt to know Perez better, and many hopes which were fixed upon him or had been excited by him had come to nothing, the above promises were not, as he complains, fulfilled; in reply to which complaint it was alleged that he maintained forbidden correspondence with England. He was not respected either in France or England, and Villeroi writes, Jan. 17, to Beaumont, the French ambassador in London: "Take you care that Perez win not by his usual flatteries the hearts of the courtiers and women, in order, as he hopes, to do such service to the king of Spain at the conclusion of peace, that his restoration to his property and

that her sufferings might be ended. Another time, Perez prays him, p. 9, affirmar de assiento en el servicio del Re, di ritirarme a un rincon a morir.

employments may be granted him. I have never seen so much vanity and imprudence mixed up with presumption (*outrecuidance*) as in Antonio Perez, for the period which he has spent with us."

LETTER XIII.

Court Establishment of Philip II. and his Queen.—Finances.—Arragon.

Among the MSS. of the Royal Library at Paris, are two descriptions of the Spanish Court in the year 1556 *. The following are extracts:

The intendant of the royal household and the Duke of Alva have, since the death of the Count of Nassau, the superintendence and direction of the entire royal establishment. Next under these come four or five major domos, to whom the main branches of business are specially assigned. Then follows a considerable number of gentlemen of the table, who, in an appointed order of succession, perform all the duties of their function, bring up dishes, carve, pour out wine, &c.

Distinct from these are the chamberlains, each of whom possesses a key to the royal apartments, and the privilege of the entry. At their head is the sommelier de corps, under Philip Ruy Gomez de Silva,

* They are in Italian, anonymous, but by eye-witnesses.

with considerable income, and the obligation to keep a table for the chamberlains on duty.

The master of the horse assists the king, when he chooses to ride, in drawing on his boots and riding equipments, as also in mounting and dismounting. Under him are pages, grooms, and trumpeters. The office is now held by Antonio di Toledo.

The quarter-master, Luis Venegas, assisted by some other officers, looks to the lodging and establishment of the court.

The chaplaincy is one of the best offices of its kind.

The body-guard of the king consists of 100 Burgundy horse, under the Count Horn; 100 German halberdiers, under Count Schwarzenberg; and 100 Spaniards, under Count Feria.

The costs of the royal household and court may amount yearly to 200,000 florins. The queen, Isabella, has a confessor, an almoner, about twenty-six ladies, at the head of whom is the first lady of the household, and of the bedchamber, who enjoy great consideration. A.D. 1566.

When the queen eats in public, two ladies who have the duty for the week stand opposite to her and carve; another at her right serves as cupbearer, and also gives her water to wash. The other ladies

stand around near the wall, and amuse themselves with the conversation of their lovers, who stand by with their heads covered, and explain this custom by saying, that they are not there to wait upon the queen, but upon their ladies. After dinner, the queen betakes herself to her chamber, accompanied by the buffoons and musicians, and then follow the ladies.

Into the room where the queen eats, according to rule, none but known and distinguished people are admitted. She has four physicians, who (although she be in health) attend her daily, and consult upon her diet.

The court establishment was enormously large. In one passage of this description, for example, are set down: 30 fourriers, 17 persons in the kitchen, 12 in the bakeries, 7 physicians, 3 painters, 83 persons in the chapel, 23 Spanish singers, 24 French, 17 Italian, 10 Spanish trumpeters, 2 German, 26 persons in the queen's chapel, 18 in the prince's. To the suite of the queen was also attached a barber.

The principal authorities are the Council of State, the Council of War, the Council of Castille, the Council of Grace and Justice, of Finance*, of the Inquisition, of the Order of Knighthood, of Italy, Arragon, and the Indies.

* He might have added of Flanders.

According to a return made in the time of Philip II. the income and expenditure stood thus:

	Income.	Expenditure.
Spain . . .	4,395,000	4,249,000
Flanders . . .	1,600,000	1,600,000
Milan . . .	844,000	877,000
Naples . . .	1,770,000	1,600,000
Sicily . . .	636,000	656,000

ducats probably.

From another source* we find, for the time of the war in Flanders:

		Quentas.
	Salinas de Espana . . .	93
	Diezmos de la mar . . .	70
	Lanas	53
	Cruzada	200
Customs.	Almoxarifago	153
	Escusado	110
	Indias	300
	Navarra	35
	Sicilia	375
	Napoles	450
	Milan	300
	Flandres o Burgundia . .	700, &c.

The total amounts to 4701 quentas, (the quenta being

* Collect. MSS. in parchments 35, according to the Egerton papers.

a million maravedis,) or 12,048,000 ducats; or according to another, 13,048,000 ducats.

In 1609 the Indian fleet brought for the king, in silver and rials, 747,363 (not known what).

2,551,945 for private persons.

1,782,838 for the king in bars and pearls.

4,955,070 for private persons*.

Out of fear of disturbances (says Badoer) the States are not convened, but letters are dispatched to individuals in case of necessity, as lately Ruy Gomez dispatched himself 600 such. Arragon, Catalonia and Valentia pay no regular contributions, but grant every year 600,000 scudi in three equal instalments. In Arragon the king is poor, the nobles poor, the people poor.

Things bear better appearance in Castille, which province Philip specially protects, and is on that account popular there, and not so in Arragon. When he visited that latter kingdom for the first time, his fourriers did not venture to order quarters for any of the court, for even women told them they had no right to do so, and one was so bold as to tear down the name of the Duke of Alva. Philip fell hereupon into such a passion, that he would fain have proceeded on his journey on the instant, but in order

* Banault. Depesches d'Espagne. St. Germain, vol. 800.

to avoid scandal, allowed himself to be persuaded by some of the principal persons, to pass a night there. Early the next morning, however, he took his departure. The people say, we are forbid certainly to say any thing against God, but not so against the king, and if we pay him what we owe him, we have nothing else to do with him.

In December, 1566, the Cortes of Castille proposed to drive out of the realm all bankers, those pests of the kingdom; which done, they promised to furnish great sums*.

* Fourqueraulx depêches. Dupuy, 523, p. 250.

XIV.

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Spain.—Queen of Navarre-
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of Philip II., the more
tribution which may throw
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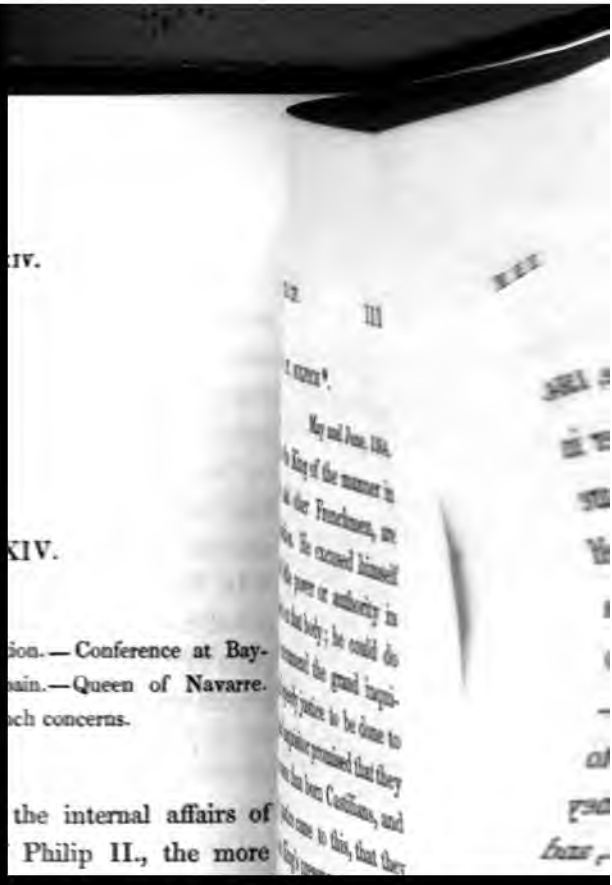
ACCOUNT BY ST. SULPICE *.

May and June, 1564.

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* St. Sulpice Ambassade en Espagne. Dupuy, 523.
† Bibl. Roy. No. 9748, p. 51. 83. 88. Dep. de St. Sulpice.



IV.

XIV.

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I have complained to the King of the manner in which the Marseillese, and other Frenchmen, are maltreated by the Inquisition. He excused himself by saying that he had little power or authority in matters which depended on that body; he could do nothing further than recommend the grand inquisitor to cause good and speedy justice to be done to the parties. The grand inquisitor promised that they should be treated no worse than born Castilians, and the good and speedy justice came to this, that they were *burnt alive* in the King's presence †.

The assemblies of the States in Arragon, Catalonia and Valentia, have come to a termination unacceptable to both parties. The States namely have granted the King only the old and insufficient amount of contribution; the King has granted nothing to the States. Philip also exposed to the world his dissatisfaction, by going booted and spurred to dissolve the assembly at Barcelona, and then proceeded on his way, disappointing all those who expected him, as on other similar occasions, to confer knighthood on several persons.

* St. Sulpice Ambassade en Espagne. Dupuy, 523.

† Bibl. Roy. No. 9748, p. 51. 83. 88. Dep. de St. Sulpice.

LETTER XIV.

Reports of Ambassadors.—Inquisition.—Conference at Bayonne.—Alva Eboli.—Queen of Spain.—Queen of Navarre.—Religious projects.—Alva on French concerns.

THE scarcer the accounts of the internal affairs of Spain since the accession of Philip II., the more welcome must be every contribution which may throw light upon them. We may take leave to add some preces by way of supplement to the copious selections which Ranke has laid before the public from Venetian documents. Ours are chiefly extracted from reports of the French ambassadors, Guibert, St. Sulpice, Fourquevaulx, St. Gear, Longlie, Maisse, Du Fresne, Forsges, and Brunault, and generally given in chronological order. Those pieces alone, which concern Don Carlos and the Queen Isabella, are put together by themselves in the following letter.

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May and June, 1564.

I have complained to the King of the manner in which the Marseillese, and other Frenchmen, are maltreated by the Inquisition. He excused himself by saying that he had little power or authority in matters which depended on that body; he could do nothing further than recommend the grand inquisitor to cause good and speedy justice to be done to the parties. The grand inquisitor promised that they should be treated no worse than born Castilians, and the good and speedy justice came to this, that they were *burnt alive* in the King's presence †.

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* St. Sulpice Ambassade en Espagne. Dupuy, 523.

† Bibl. Roy. No. 9748, p. 51. 83. 88. Dep. de St. Sulpice.

ACCOUNTS OF THE YEAR 1565, OF THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE QUEEN OF SPAIN AND HER MOTHER, CATHERINE OF MEDICIS, IN BAYONNE.

Elizabeth and Catherine wished for such a conference. Philip, on the contrary, hesitated at first, partly from natural indecision, partly from anxiety lest other States should entertain suspicion of its objects. Later he consented, and laid down its main objects to be, the marriage of their children and nephews, the security of Christendom against the infidels, and the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and especially to prevent the daily weakening of the royal power in France*. He was even himself inclined to betake himself to the neighbourhood of Bayonne.

Catherine sent costly furniture and a silver table-service, under escort of from fifteen to twenty horse to Bayonne. They did not shrink from the expenses of the journey, though the want of money was gigantic, (*geant besoin d'argent*)†.

Philip, on the contrary, ordered his wife to be told, through the Princess Eboli, that she might take

* Mem. de Granvelle, xx. 60. Chantonnay I. 1. and II. 50. at Besançon.

† Lettres de Catherine de Medici, Bib. Royale, 8693, p. 8, 9.

order as she should please for her own person, but not to allow her ladies (in contradiction to the Pragmatica) to order themselves new clothes. Those which they possessed were rich and fine enough, and should be worn nine months longer. Even so should all the gentlemen in her suite be dressed by the same rule, and wear no gold or silver embroideries or ornaments. He hoped that in France they would act on the same principles, in order that a meeting, which was intended simply for pleasure might not give rise to excessive expense.

St. Sulpice proposed to the King that the Prince of Eboli should accompany the Queen to Bayonne, but received no distinct reply. When Elizabeth repeated the request, Philip said:—"During the journey to Bayonne, my son Carlos must go to our Lady of Guadaloupe, and I would trust him to no man on earth but the prince; for it is to be feared, that if the prince be not always about my son, we shall find the latter, on his return, in the same state in which we left him at his departure." When Eboli heard of this, he prayed the French ambassador to repeat once more his request, since he only wished to be absent from the prince for about twelve days; he also observed, that these difficulties were put in his way entirely by the Castilians, who hated him as a Portuguese and a friend to the French.

I have as yet (continues St. Sulpice) learnt nothing more positive on the subject of the journey, for every thing is treated slowly, and so secretly, between the King and the Queen, that no other but the Duke of Alva knows any particular of it. They give out sometimes one thing, sometimes another, as suits their purpose, and because the preparations are not yet concluded, the journey has been repeatedly postponed. When Philip gave order that many persons, especially ladies, should not be allowed to make the journey, those who were condemned to remain cried much, and reminded the King, through the principal persons at court, of the distinguished services of their families, in order to obtain from him a reversal of the sentence, but Philip was not to be moved to acquiescence.

He appointed with accuracy the times and places of the Queen's journey, and promised to be ever as near her as possible. Then, he added, I am dissatisfied to hear that your mother makes such great preparation for her journey, as though you were to be received, not as her daughter, but as a foreign queen. Moreover, she has invited Madame de Vendome (so be called the Queen of Navarre) and the Prince of Condé. It is impossible, however, for me to admit of your meeting these persons, partly because they have spoken out too sharply in

the matter of religion, partly because you could not treat the Queen of Navarre as queen, or call her sister, without trenching on my dignity. But to call her merely cousin, while the Queen of France calls her royal sister, would, on the other hand, be very unbecoming. As to her son, on the contrary, the Prince of Navarre (Henry IV.) he is still a child, whom God will not allow to remain in ignorance, and may be present at the meeting as Prince of the blood.

When the Queen Elizabeth (or Isabella) communicated this to St. Sulpice, he answered in accordance with his instructions;—it was not reasonable that she and her husband should wish to impose a law upon the King of France and her mother in respect of religion, which they themselves did not observe, with respect to the English and Germans. Why should the French be placed in a worse position than these, who certainly always demean themselves with courtesy, and neither in word or deed are guilty of the least scandal? It was not to be conjectured that the Queen-mother had invited the above named or any others of the reformed faith. If, however, they, of their own accord, announced themselves, in order to kiss her hand with reverence, and to present her with the offer of their services, a refusal would appear an injury, and awaken suspi-

cion that something further was in agitation. In that case, the meeting, instead of promoting p[illegible] in the realm, might easily be the cause of new [illegible] visions.

The Queen thought these allegations very rea[illegible] able, and promised to notify them accurately to [illegible] husband. St. Sulpice, however, as he left the [illegible] encountered the Duke of Alva, who repeated to [illegible] in the name of the King, the former order; ad[illegible] that if the persons before named, or any o[illegible] whose conversation might be unacceptable or o[illegible] sive to the Queen, should appear at Bayonne, [illegible] Queen would turn about if she were advance[illegible] within a mile of that city.

St. Sulpice repeated to the Duke nearly the [illegible] reasons in reply, and wrote to the Queen a lette[illegible] [illegible]. In the answer, addresse[illegible] [illegible] by their

Philip, who (according to St. Sulpice) was very secret and reserved, even in matters of no consequence, spoke very undecidedly on the subject of the journey. Yet he said to his wife, he would commit to her care some little things (*petites choses*) for her mother, and the Duke of Alva assured St. Sulpice, that at Bayonne the hearts of both parties must be laid open. The Ambassador replied, that on the side of France this had always taken place without dissimulation or secrecy. Eboli told him in confidence: they will not confine themselves to pleasures at Bayonne, but will occupy themselves in confirming the inclination and favourable views which their majesties bear to one another. Possibly, they may also speak of marriages, do what they can in the matter of religion, and lay every thing else aside.

In relation to these expressions, St. Sulpice writes to Queen Catherine*. It is to be believed that an attempt will be made to persuade you to abolish, or at least alter those relaxations of the laws which you have passed in favour of your subjects. The Spaniards would be glad, in any way, to revive the troubles which it has cost you so much exertion to allay. Or they fear to be thrown soon into those

* 79. Undated, but of the same time.

dangers, out of which, as out of innumerable fearful storms, God has led us into a calm [illegible] happy haven. Yet, upon all this, I have no o[illegible] sion to say any thing, since you know the thou[illegible] of the Spaniards well enough to be on your g[illegible] against their plans.

New propositions, that the Prince of Condé, [illegible] out any further distinction should come to Bay[illegible] with others of the reformed persuasion, Philip [illegible] peremptorily rejected, and said: my subjects a[illegible] tender of conscience, and would receive such [illegible] mous offence, were my consort to find herse[illegible] such society, that no one of them would ever [illegible] to see her or me again, (on the score of our co[illegible] having been given.) The Queen turns back, [illegible] she within a quarter of a mile of Bayonne.

suaded her on account of contagious diseases prevalent therein*. Philip, who was consulted, decided against her entry.

After the return of the Queen from Bayonne†, St. Sulpice had an audience of Philip, and told him, the Queen Catherine waited some days for the Duke of Alva, (who conducted her daughter,) to commence speaking upon certain subjects. As this, however, did not take place, she began the negotiation, in accordance with the natural friendship and motherly affection which she entertained towards both their majesties. At first she found the Duke somewhat cold, afterwards, however, he went into her propositions with so much zeal and good will, that she was well pleased with him, and has expressly enjoined me to thank your majesty for permitting her daughter to be attended by so distinguished a man, who conducts himself, in all respects, as a minister worthy of so great a king. On this account, Queen Catherine opened to him the situation of France, and what concerns the maintenance of religion and the strengthening the royal dignity. On these points, also, she found the Duke of such favourable and sound opinions, that he not only approved every thing which pertained to the advantage of the French

* May 16 and 23, 1565. † August 11, p. 97.

crown and dominions, but advised and exho
her, to insist, in such fashion, upon obedience
strict execution of the law, that none should pres
on any pretext to transgress it, without being
punished that he should serve as an exampl
dread to all. The Queen pointed out to the I
how all her resources and dealings were always
rected to this object, and found a great corrobora
of her policy in the approval of a man of such
perience and knowledge in state affairs, and
serves the King with so much capacity and ju
ment.

About this time a meeting took place bet
Philip and Don John of Austria, who had en
voured to betake himself, without the King's
sent, for an enterprize to Malta, but had foun

of the affairs of France, I said to their majesties, it seems to be neither the moment in France to root out the evil with the sword, nor to treat it merely with mildness and dissimulation; for on the one hand, one can hardly approve that the king should raise an army in the country and lead it against his own subjects; on the other, there is no sufficient reason for leaving those who are too audacious, unpunished. One would not set religion on the uncertain footing of the chances of a war, in which one evil accident might throw all into the greatest danger, but the military power must assuredly remain in the hands of the king and his delegates; and his laws and ordinances must be maintained by the enforcement of strong penalties. Some, however, have enforced very contrary opinions, and advised the King of France to take up arms against the reformed; he, however, had not made his journey to France to do that country so bad a service, nor would the king his master have sent him for such purpose *. St. Sulpice answered the Duke. Some indeed cherished such an opinion of the Duke, and he had given himself trouble to turn them from it. The Queen in the

* P. 105. A letter of Alva of August 20, 1556, in which he bitterly reproaches Pope Paul III., is extant in Dupuy MSS., Vol. 697, p. 126.

mean time had given open testimony as to what taken place in the matter.

Alva deemed marriage alliances between France Spain of advantage; for that contracted with the peror was no increase to the power of Spain, and excite the jealousy of the Germans and lead to union with the French. Charles V. himself, true, had not been able to prevent the Germans taking service with France, for he who has will ever have the Germans too.

LETTER XV.

Disposition of Don Carlos.—His sicknesses.—Fall at Alcala.—Incapacity.—Queen Isabella.—Her good qualities; relations with Philip.—Marriage project for Don Carlos.—Project for Flanders.—Arrest of the Prince, his conduct, accusation, and death.—Different accounts of the same.—Letter of Philip.—Relation of Antonio Perez, &c.—Death of the Queen.—Reports.—Her funeral.

RANKE has in his treatise on the affair of Don Carlos *, as acute as it is circumstantial, struck into the only right path to the elucidation of that mysterious passage of history. Yet he modestly adds: No perfect solution immediately presents itself. Let me therefore be allowed to impart some hitherto unknown passages of documents on the subject which corroborate his views.

The Venetian, Badoer †, gives the first circum-

* Wiener Jahrebücher, Band 46.

† Badoer relazione, Bib. Roy. MSS. 10083. 2. 2 a. Colbert. 5486.

stantial account of Carlos in a report of 1557. The Prince is twelve years of age and of a weak complexion. He has an head of disproportioned bigness, black hair, and a fierce disposition. It is said of him that when, in the chase, hares or other animals are brought to him, he takes delight in seeing them roasted alive. Once when a long tailed lizard was presented to him, and bit him in the finger, he bit off the animal's head, and for this once only, shewed courage by so doing. It is also believed that he is immoderately inclined to the female sex. If he finds himself without money, he gives away, (without the knowledge of the Princess his aunt,) chains, medals, and even his clothes, though otherwise fond of shew. When he was told, after the marriage of Philip with Mary of England, that their son, if they should have one, would inherit the Netherlands, he said, this he would never consent to, but would oppose to the last; he also begged a suit of armour of the Emperor, then resident in Brussels, with which the Emperor was much pleased. He shews uncommon pride, in that he will never remain long standing in his father's presence, or take off his cap, and that he calls the Emperor father, and his father only brother. He is as passionately addicted to his own opinions, and as prone to anger as a young man can be. He amuses himself with uttering on every occasion, so

many predictions (cose augure) that his tutor collected them in a volume and presented it to the Emperor.

His tutor Giovanni is a man of the best morals, and makes him read Cicero's Offices, in order to appease his fiery propensities; but he will speak and read of nothing but warlike affairs; and if one of his attendants (as often happens) brings him a present, he accepts it, but takes the giver to a room and compels him to swear upon a book that he will follow the Prince to any war whither he shall choose to lead him *.

The Emperor, on his arrival in Spain, shewed the greatest inclination for his grandson, and recounted to him his actions and adventures. Carlos (who listened to him with the greatest attention) expressed his approbation at every thing; the Emperor's flight from before the Elector Maurice alone excepted. The Emperor answered, that want of money and soldiers had alone compelled him; but Carlos replied, "I would never have fled." The Emperor repeated his explanation of the circumstances, but Carlos, to the admiration of the Emperor and the by-standers, insisted on his declaration.

* In un libro. Perhaps this means to *inscribe* his name. Philip had an illegitimate son of 13 years, of whom no one spoke at court.

That the Emperor, however, discovered the weak points of his grandson, appears from a letter to Philip, warning him not to shew his son to the Netherlanders until he had been better educated and could better conduct himself*.

But Carlos improved neither in mind nor body, as partly appears from the reports of the French ambassador Guibert †. He writes, September 5, 1561, from Madrid, to Catherine of Medicis. The King is about to take his son to Segovia, and thence, for the sake of the mild and temperate air, to send him to Tarragona and Valentia. It is hoped that he will there get rid of his quartan fever sooner than here, where the winter is colder and damper. The poor Prince seems troubled and extenuated, and the best physicians give little hopes for the future, since he suffers a general wasting.

In November, 1561, Carlos went, though sick, with Don John of Austria and Alexander of Parma, to Alcala, and at the same time, the Queen of Bohemia applied to Queen Isabella of Spain to further the marriage of her daughter with the Prince ‡. Isabella had the less desire to involve herself in such a business, as she had rather (for the pleasure of future

* Strada 1. 10. Cabrera 91. 45.

† St. Germain, 790 (228).

‡ Report of the 16th December, 1562.

intercourse) have married Carlos to her own sister. Yet she determined to speak of both the projects with the King, who answered, the sickness of the Prince prevented him from making any decision on the matter.

April 3, 1562. Guibert writes. The fever has left the Prince, and his health improves, although, in consequence of his foolish doings, symptoms of his former malady remain behind. This will all be removed as the summer advances. This hope was, however, completely frustrated, when Carlos had his heavy fall down stairs at Alcala. Guibert writes, May 15, 1562. The lamentation, perplexity, and despair of the King and his suite, is incredible. Carlos fell head foremost down a dark stair, which he would descend alone and secretly, in search of a young daughter of a porter in the garden, whom he admired. The surgeons, not satisfied with bandaging the wound, have enlarged it. The new French ambassador, St. Sulpice, writes, May 10, from Burgos. They mean to trepan the Prince, and have ordered solemn processions and prayers for his recovery *. According to an accurate report of the whole malady and treatment by the royal physician,

* Bib. Roy. MSS., No. 9746, 9748.

Olivarez, the Prince fell with his head against a closed door, and hurt it severely on the left side *.

Contrary to first expectation, Carlos, it would appear, entirely recovered, but, according to a letter of Cardinal Granvelle to Gonzalo Perez, suffered anew and for a long time from fever †. Many, he proceeds, are pleased with the Prince, others not. I think him modest, and inclined to employ himself, which for the heir of such large dominions, is in the highest degree necessary and important.

Soon, however, the judgments upon him are couched in severer language. February 1565, an anonymous correspondent writes to Granvelle:—The Prince is sad and melancholy, and turns his mind to nothing ‡. Neither Philip, nor any of the issue of this branch, will attain the virtues of those who are gathered to their fathers. Hoppers expresses himself still more strongly, and writes:—There is nothing to be done with Carlos. He believes every thing that is said to him; if he were told he was dead, he would believe it §.

Before I communicate later accounts of Carlos, I

* Granvelle, Mem. à Besançon, viii. p. 77.

† October 12, 1564. Granvelle, xiv. 283.

‡ Granvelle, xvi. 165.

§ January, 1565. Granvelle, ii. 187.

will bring down those concerning the Queen, and then seek to elucidate the fate of both, down to their deaths.

February 25, 1562. Guibert writes to Queen Catherine:—King Philip goes on loving the Queen more and more. If others contradict this, it is only being frightened at scarecrows (epauontaux à chenevieres) and lies. Your daughter has rather tripled her influence and consideration within these three months. Her husband appears cheerful and content, and she possesses extraordinary discretion and attraction; and therewith so much liveliness and talent, as is seldom found in a female of 30 years*. All the grandees are devoted to her, she no longer requires any tutelage, but understands how to lead and instruct others.

The Queen of Spain, writes St. Sulpice, June 12, 1564, is good and lovely, and is no less rejoiced and content with the return of her husband, than she was sad at his journey and long absence. They live together in the greatest friendship, and sleep together, so that it may well happen that after nine months a fair prince may be born. When she fell ill in December, Philip said, "her loss would be greater and weightier, and pain me more than any instance

* She was only 17.

of adversity that ever occurred to me. For she possesses many virtues and good qualities, and deserves in every respect my friendship and affection."

August 11, 1565. St. Sulpice writes to Catherine *. The King and Queen accosted one another after her return from Bayonne, as affectionately as can be imagined, and vied with each other which should do the other most honour. They resided in the same house at Sepulveda, even in the same chamber, and remained together till five o'clock the next day after dinner. Then they went back together five leagues, and reached Segovia the following day. Prince Carlos came on three leagues to meet them, approached the Queen on foot, and sought to seize her hand to kiss it, and she did not omit to return his salutation cordially †.

I can assure you, madam, that the Queen your daughter lives in the greatest content on earth, by reason of the perfect friendship which ever the more draws her closely to her husband. He daily makes her the most confidential communications, and is so cordial in his intercourse with her, as to leave nothing to be wished for. The King has also received such

* Noy. 748. p. 97.

† Travailla assez de lui prendre la main, pour la lui baiser, et elle n'oublier de lui rendre bien son salut.

favourable reports of her virtuous deportment in her whole expedition, and is so pleased by them, that he ever loves, prizes, and honours her, and all of her people will ever the more do the same.

There has been some talk of a marriage between Don Carlos and the Emperor's eldest daughter *, or the sister of the Queen. The Queen told me, " I shewed the portrait of my sister to Carlos, which he considered a long time, and said she has beautiful eyes, a beautiful mouth, she is altogether beautiful. With regard to this marriage I spoke open-heartedly with the Prince Eboli and told him, although the King shews much paternal affection for the Prince, and the Prince great obedience and reverence to his father, yet all this might alter for the worse. The prince, moreover, is grown up, and may possibly incur a necessity of visiting Italy or Flanders, where he would be living at a distance from his father. In that case there is no princess upon earth who would be more apt to moderate and accommodate herself to his dispositions, possessing so much softness, kindness, and virtue as she does. She will conduct herself like a daughter towards the Queen her sister, obey the King, and keep things in peace without suspicion. It would be hard to find a princess in

* Page 102.

with the former at the Escurial till the prev
Saturday, and went to him after his return as u
in the company of the Prince. The King gave h
self no trouble about the Prince, but spoke i
friendly manner to the other. Perhaps jealousy
the suspicion that Don John has disclosed
secrets, has so seized the Prince, that he bra
Don John upon his leaving the King. Perh
there are other reasons, but it is enough that si
that evening Don John has no more appeared,
the whole nobility speak of nothing but the ar
of the Prince.

In Fourquevaulx's next report of the 5th Februa
1568, we find,—the King of Spain wishes that y
majesty should learn nothing but the truth of
affair of the Prince, and has caused me to be inform

for the Queen, even if we interpret cousin to mean an Austrian princess; in that case Carlos rejected the alliance which was favoured by Isabella.

October 10, 1567, the French Ambassador Fourquevaulx * writes that the Queen, in the presence of the King, was happily delivered of a daughter, and adds, all great and small have wished it to be a son, except perhaps, Prince Carlos, who in no wise concealed this, but often said it to the Queen. Yet he afterwards did not fail to take his share in demonstrations and prayers in the churches.

About the time when they were in doubt whether Philip or Alva should go to the Netherlands, Carlos learned that the Cortes were about to propose that during the King's absence, he, Carlos, should remain in Spain †. He betook himself thereupon to their assembly, and told them, that whosoever should vote for that proposal would be held by him as his deadly enemy. Equally so, whoever should be mad enough to propose, as they had done three years back, that he should marry his aunt. He moreover, ordered them, on pain of death, to keep secret these expressions. They were soon, however, known.

* Fourquevaulx Ambassade, St. Germain, 790 (228), p. 258.

† Report of December, 1566, p. 250, and November 24, Dupuy, Vol. 357.

the King returned with Don John, he found n
to lure the latter to a particular part of his resid
causing him to pass through eleven doors and
ting them all after him. At last, arriving at
place he intended, he made an attempt to
Don John with a pistol, which, however,
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King. Philip took no measures on the instant;
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usual, although he was already determined ir
same night to lay hands on his son, and no long
put up with or conceal his follies and more
youthful extravagancies. The last of these wa
I have related, an intent to kill Don John with his
hand, or to have him shot by Lcava, one of his pe

Prince. It is certain, at all events, that the King, long before his departure, had ceased to converse with him. Great discontent prevailed on both sides, and the Prince knew not how to conceal the rancour which he entertained against his father. So far from doing so, he said, without caution, "Among five persons to whom I wish desperate evil, the King is, next after Ruy Gomez, the first." To Ruy Gomez, in fact, he attributes every thing which falls out against his wishes.

It is well known that on Christmas night he would not communicate, nor take any part in the jubilee, because he could not lay aside his hate, nor pardon; and his confessor, therefore, refused him absolution. Hereupon he applied to other doctors of theology, but they returned him the same answer. There are people who even affirm that he wished to do his father an ugly turn. However this may be, the King went last night into the chamber of the Prince, found a cocked pistol under the bed, and committed him to the care of Ruy Gomez, the Duke of Feria, Don Prior Antonio, and Don Lope Quixada, under express order that he should speak with no living soul, unless they were by to hear and see.

I understand that Don John of Austria has also absented himself since Saturday, and I know not whether he avoids the King or the Prince, yet he was

with the former at the Escurial till the previous Saturday, and went to him after his return as usual in the company of the Prince. The King gave himself no trouble about the Prince, but spoke in a friendly manner to the other. Perhaps jealousy, or the suspicion that Don John has disclosed his secrets, has so seized the Prince, that he braved Don John upon his leaving the King. Perhaps there are other reasons, but it is enough that since that evening Don John has no more appeared, and the whole nobility speak of nothing but the arrest of the Prince.

In Fourquevaulx's next report of the 5th February, 1568, we find,—the King of Spain wishes that your majesty should learn nothing but the truth of the affair of the Prince, and has caused me to be informed through Ruy Gomez on the 27th ult. as follows: It is now above three years since the King well observed that the Prince's head was in worse condition than the rest of his frame, and that he never was in complete possession of his understanding. His actions have since that time supplied daily proof of the fact; but the King has long been silent on the subject, in the hope that time would bring back his understanding and discretion. The contrary however, has fallen out, and the King lost all hope that the Prince would ever regain his intelligence, or become worthy

of the succession to the throne. To make over to him so many countries and sovereignties would be to effect their dissolution, and the destruction of all the King's subjects. After a long and deep consideration, accompanied by indescribable anguish, the King was forced to determine upon other measures, namely, to appoint him a good chamber in a great tower of the palace at Madrid, exactly under that which the princess inhabits. He is served and maintained there like the prince of a great house, but so strictly watched, that he can neither do mischief, nor betake himself out of the country.

His plan was (as I hear from others) to betake himself, by way of Genoa, to the Italian states, where people would not have been wanting who would have excited him to throw every thing into confusion, and to require things of his father contrary to all sense and reason. He also, as I heard, made great efforts to move Don John, wishing to make him, in the first place, subscribe his name to a list of persons, who had therein pledged themselves to follow him, and to favour and support his party. Don John stedfastly refused this, and in order to escape such entreaties, betook himself to the Escurial, where he also remained till the return of the King. At this, Carlos was so jealous and dissatisfied, that, on the evening of the 17th of January, when

the King returned with Don John, he found means to lure the latter to a particular part of his residence, causing him to pass through eleven doors and shutting them all after him. At last, arriving at the place he intended, he made an attempt to shoot Don John with a pistol, which, however, Don John wrested from him, and betook himself to the King. Philip took no measures on the instant; even on the next day, when I was present at the audience, he appeared with as good a countenance as usual, although he was already determined in the same night to lay hands on his son, and no longer to put up with or conceal his follies and more than youthful extravagancies. The last of these was, as I have related, an intent to kill Don John with his own hand, or to have him shot by Lcava, one of his people, who was posted behind the arras; Providence prevented the Duke from entering this chamber.

In the night the King entered his son's chamber, and gave him over to Ruy Gomez and Feria, who were made answerable for his safe keeping with their lives. He, moreover, took away his papers, and as Carlos was in the habit of committing all his thoughts to writing, Philip learned by this means his views, and the ten thousand strange and mad visions which had existed in his brain; yet he had never thought of undertaking any thing against the life of the

King or Queen, as the common rumour in the court ran. They found in his possession only 3000 dollars, and a quantity of Portuguese coins (desires). This was the amount of his treasure; but he possessed also several rings. He remained in possession of all, and can still do what he pleases with it. His establishment was broken up on the 26th of last month. Those who serve him wear neither sword nor poniard, and are often changed. The meat which is brought to him is cut small, and he is not allowed a knife even to cut his bread. The kitchen attendants carry the dishes to the door of his chamber, where they are taken from them. Only that one chamber is allowed him, and the window is strongly grated, as your majesty will hear further from Louis du Fois, the bearer of this.

It is intended, moreover, (writes Fourquevaulx on the same day to Queen Catherine) to proceed judicially against the Prince, and to declare him incapable of mounting the throne, by which course, with God's help, the Queen's issue will one day reign. Although the injury to the Prince brings great advantage to her, yet is she wise enough to shew no joy, but to submit herself entirely to the will of her lord, until he at last forbad her to weep; for she has for two days wept over the misfortune of her step-son.

After receipt of this report, Charles IX. writes,

God is plainly to be recognized therein. For, Lent, and up to Easter, he has (in order to r the Lord's body) fulfilled the duty of a good Chr by fasting, and after four-fold confession, per and mortification, has been admitted by his con to the Holy Communion. For two days the put off the affair on account of certain ques and their answers, which had passed between and the king, and said at last, to the Prince, on certain important grounds he could not give the sacrament, whereupon the Prince fell into g sadness, sighs, and tears. When the confessor this, and how grieved he was at the delay, he cused it on the ground that certain decorations other necessary things were wanting in the cha Hereupon the Prince answered, that if this were only difficulty, he might treat him like any other

added, Feb. 23, I am concerned that the event very much distresses the Queen my daughter, as well with regard to her husband as in respect of the Prince, who has always let her know the will he bears towards her. (*La volonté qu'il lui porte.*)

In his next report, of Feb. 18, the ambassador writes:—The Prince is ever shut up and guarded in his chamber. He eats little and unwillingly, and sleeps hardly at all, which in no respect can assist him to amend his understanding. He becomes visibly thinner and more dried up, and his eyes are sunk in his head. They give him sometimes strong soups and capon broths, in which amber and other nourishing things are dissolved, that he may not quite part with his strength and fall into decrepitude. These soups are prepared privately in the chamber of Ruy Gomez, through which one passes into that of the Prince. The Prince is still never allowed to go out, nor even to look out of the window.

The Prince's grandmother * wrote lately to the king, her son-in-law, she would willingly come to him to comfort and tend him like a mother in his affliction; but I hear that they are very ready to spare her the trouble. It is said further, that deputies are about to arrive from Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, to inquire

* Queen Catherine of Portugal, sister to Charles V.

against the expectation of his early release from

I have from a sure hand, that the Emperor
Empress have taken the arrest of the Prince so a
the worse, that the King did not disclose to
their grounds for the measure, but only said, g
rally, that it had been adopted on good ones, w
should be one day communicated to them. T
Majesties have answered, among other things,
hoped the King would release the Prince aft
short confinement, and that this penance would
swer the purpose of improvement and amends.
this answer, the King gives it to be understood
he knows nothing of the true grounds of his con
ment, or chooses to know nothing, namely, the

of the son, that one of them must, by a miracle, become altogether another man before one can hope that the Prince, during the life of his father, can be released from confinement. Yet the prayers in the churches go on:—"Et famulos tuos, papam, Philippum regem nostrum, reginam, et principem nostrum cùm prole regiâ," &c.—only the King has forbid the clergy to mention the Prince in their sermons.

The deputies of Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, (says Fourquevaulx, April 13,) received an order not to approach, and none of them ventured to continue his journey. The King also wrote in the beginning to all the grandees, and the towns, saying, that he had ordered the Prince's arrest on good grounds. There is now as little talk upon the subject of the Prince as if he had been dead ten years.

This, Sire, arises from the circumstance, that the King, by his wisdom, has brought it to this, that no man in his kingdom ventures to criticise his conduct or oppose his orders; but every one obeys him, willingly or unwillingly, and all, if they do not love him, at least appear to do so.

May 8, 1568. Fourquevaulx writes to the King of France:—The Prince is well in his person. He has also, as his friends say, so bettered his spiritual condition during the holy week, that the hand of

the Duke of Alcala, upon the arrest *. We have
demned the arrest of our dear son, and have ado
such alterations in respect to his mode of life, n
ments, court, establishment, &c., that it is fit
should be informed of them, that you may know
they are adopted on just grounds, and for pres
reasons. According to the duties imposed upon
we were compelled to adopt these means; for we
convinced they are the most applicable and
ducive to the service of God and the public well
&c.

2. The Emperor considering, (as Fourquevr
justly remarks above,) the account transmitted to
by Philip as insufficient, the latter gave, May 20, 1
fresh instructions to his minister at Vienna. They c
tain, however, nothing more than general excuses,

Since this time Carlos has, contrary to his custom, become mild and humane, which gives great joy to those who wish for his liberation, and to his servants, since it shews that he is not so deficient in intellect and judgement, as the King and many maintain; for if he were insane, they would not have given him the sacrament. They hope his confinement may serve for penance and improvement, and that his father will in a short time forgive him.

Notwithstanding these various assurances, I have, Sire, heard from one who knows what passes, and more of the affairs of the Prince than those who talk of them, that the communion was permitted to the Prince by advice of the Theologians, in order to correct the belief of those who think that the Prince belongs to the sect of the Sacramentalists, from which, in fact, he is mortally averse. The same Theologians say, it is allowable to give the sacrament to madmen in lucid intervals, as has been done in the case of the Prince. But, in truth, there is altogether no hope that he will ever be sane, or capable of succeeding to the throne; for his understanding deteriorates every day, and his liberation is not to be in any degree reckoned upon. Another tells me: The Prince's servants and household are to be discharged and paid off, which equally goes

against the expectation of his early release from confinement.

I have from a sure hand, that the Emperor and Empress have taken the arrest of the Prince so much the worse, that the King did not disclose to them their grounds for the measure, but only said, generally, that it had been adopted on good ones, which should be one day communicated to them. Their Majesties have answered, among other things, they hoped the King would release the Prince after a short confinement, and that this penance would answer the purpose of improvement and amends. By this answer, the King gives it to be understood that he knows nothing of the true grounds of his confinement, or chooses to know nothing, namely, the notorious incapacity and want of sense of the poor young Prince. The report ran, the Emperor would send a gentleman to intercede for the Prince, and request his release; but the Imperial ambassador said to me that no one would arrive for that purpose. The King has written to the Emperor to ask him to let the Prince of Bohemia remain in Spain, as this would be a great comfort to him under the calamity of his son.

After these circumstantial reports of Fourquevaulx, one expects from him the best account of the Prince's

death. I only found, however, the following words in a letter to Catherine of Medicis. I yesterday presented to the Queen my condolence on the loss of her step-son, which for her and hers is a very profitable loss. She wishes me to perform a very conspicuous and royal ceremony of condolence. They go on here with mourning and funeral solemnities as if Carlos had been king.

We must suppose that out of the diplomatic reports on the death of Don Carlos, precisely the most important have either been abstracted, or lost, or deposited elsewhere. It was impossible for me in my haste to extend my researches on the subject: yet it seems to me that this chasm proves nothing against Philip; for in the first place, the French court was not inclined to dismiss or slur over any charge of crime preferred against the Spanish. Secondly, it appears from all the reports of Fourquevaulx, that he considered the imprisonment of Carlos as natural and necessary, but in no respect dangerous for Philip II. In the third place, Philip had not the smallest ground for removing his son by violence.

It is instructive, however, to hear other witnesses upon these events, and in the next place, Philip himself.

1. A letter of Philip to the Viceroy of Naples,

him to put him to death. The King, with his u
calmness, repeated to him the recommendatio
compose himself, and caused him to be carried
to his bed. All chests and writings were eq
carried away, and the Prince committed to t
four persons, but specially to Feria, as comma
of the body guard; and a promise on oath of f
ful guardianship was exacted from them.

Monday the 19th, the King convened the p
cipal authorities of the realm and imparted to t
what had happened, and told them—"it had b
necessary and useful, as in time they would lea
The provincial authorities also received a com
nication.

The guardianship of the Prince remained in
hands of the four persons abovementioned, till

death of Carlos *:—As it has pleased God to take my dear son the Prince to himself, you may conceive in what pain and heaviness I find myself. He died July 29, in a Christian manner, after having, three days before, taken the sacrament and exhibited repentance and contrition, all which serves to relieve and console me in this affliction. For I hope that God has called him to himself, that he may be with him evermore, and that he will grant me his grace and assistance that I may endure and surmount this calamity with a Christian heart and patience.

Philip next orders prayers and masses for the dead, on account of the death of his son, and for the advancement of his affairs to the service of God.

4. Charles IX. dispatched the Sieur de la Tremouille to Madrid, to communicate to Philip his condolence on the death of Carlos. In the ambassador's instruction †, September 26, 1568: after some praises of the Prince, we find the King is convinced that his Catholic Majesty entertains great sorrow, for besides that the obligation of a good father compels him to lament the loss of an only son, at the moment when he might expect his help, we must also believe that the manner of that loss, must have and does deeply affect the King.

After the King, the ambassador is directed to wait

* Chantonnay, Vol. 53. † Fourquevaulx, Vol. 790.

ament, it rose in favour of the Pri
This he persisted with so much perseverance
will, that if but the Prince suffered the expres
to escape him that he had no great enemy. A
but continual Caesar, the most miserable mo
ny mind that ever lived! Kept like a slave wi
a share in employment, without consideratio
active occupation, by which I might make m
capable of governing. It is necessary for me
herse myself from the hands of my father, and
myself into the arms of my friends in the Ne
lands, who require my assistance.

After the King had ascertained this, he took c
sel with Ebeli, Mera, and another, as to w
measures he should adopt. The more, however,
insisted upon laying hands on the Prince, the n

chamberlains of the Prince, the Duke of Lerma and Don Diego de Mendoza, to leave open on the following night the doors of the Prince's residence, and to keep him in conversation that he might not go to sleep. The King then ordered his adjutants, Santorio and Barnate, to take with them hammer and nails, and went about eleven in the evening without light, and in deshabille, to the apartment of the Prince. There were only four other persons with him besides these adjutants. The Duke of Feria, Ruy Gomez, the Prior Antonio, and Don Louis de Quixada. When they entered, the Prince was speaking to his chamberlains with his back turned to the door. The King, before Carlos observed him, took his sword and dagger from the bed, and gave them to Santorio. It is averred that the Prince then rose up from the bed, and in great astonishment asked his father whether he was come to take away his life or his liberty. The King answered, " neither the one nor the other; compose yourself." When, however, he ordered the adjutant to nail up the windows, the Prince fell into such a passion, that he tried to throw himself into a large fire which was burning in the room, but the Prior held him back. He then ran wildly at some candlesticks, which, however, in common with all other such articles, were forthwith removed. Carlos now fell at the feet of his father, and begged

him to put him to death. The King, with his usual calmness, repeated to him the recommendation to compose himself, and caused him to be carried back to his bed. All chests and writings were equally carried away, and the Prince committed to those four persons, but specially to Feria, as commander of the body guard; and a promise on oath of faithful guardianship was exacted from them.

Monday the 19th, the King convened the principal authorities of the realm and imparted to them what had happened, and told them—"it had been necessary and useful, as in time they would learn." The provincial authorities also received a communication.

The guardianship of the Prince remained in the hands of the four persons abovementioned, till the 25th, when the King committed it to Ruy Gomez exclusively, and associated with him six gentlemen, of whom two took the duty each day. One chamber only remains to the Prince, called the tower, without chimney, with high, narrow, grated windows. The other chambers are assigned to Ruy Gomez, and that he may the more conveniently discharge his new duties, the King has chosen that his wife should be lodged with him.

The grounds of the arrest are commonly ascribed to a malady of the brain, and to desperation at the

strict inspection kept over him; for there were symptoms of an intention on his part to leave Spain. Then it is added that he had strayed beyond this project, and had entertained a further one for gaining the government by the death of his father. It is moreover stated, that it had been his wish to go to Portugal and thence to Flanders. For the attainment of this object, he had obtained an undefined pledge from many persons, but had entrusted the secret of the plan to none but Don John of Austria, and in some degree to the Marquis of Pescara, one of whom probably disclosed it to the King, but full four months before this period.

6. Antonio Perez to the Parliament-counsellor, Du Vair, in Paris *:—The arrest and death of Carlos had been brought on by his own bad, restlessly inclined disposition; by the disgust he entertained at his father's marriage with a French princess originally destined for himself; by the want of caution with which he expressed his discontent to the world, which gave his father occasion for suspicion, and led some of the Flemings to attempt gaining him over to become the head of their revolt.

King Philip gained over Don John of Austria, and induced him to undertake playing the part of a mal-

* Dupuy MSS., Vol. 661.

content, in order to win the favour of the Prince. This he performed with so much perseverance and skill, that at last the Prince suffered the expression to escape him that he had one great enemy. Am I not, continued Carlos, the most miserable man of my rank, that ever lived? Kept like a slave without a share in employment, without consideration, or active occupation, by which I might make myself capable of governing. It is necessary for me to liberate myself from the hands of my father, and throw myself into the arms of my friends in the Netherlands, who require my assistance.

After the King had ascertained this, he took counsel with Eboli, Mora, and another, as to what measures he should adopt. The more, however, he insisted upon laying hands on the Prince, the more they endeavoured to mitigate his just anger, because (not to mention other reasons) they feared, whatsoever difficulties the Prince might have to go through, he might one day obtain his pardon and his release from captivity. In such a result they would find themselves in the most dangerous position, in virtue of the Prince's enmity. It came to this, that it was with difficulty any one could be found bold enough to lay hands on the person of the Prince. The King, however, chose to charge himself with the proceeding, and having heard that the Prince had on his

doors a lock, which no one but himself knew how to open, and I know not how many arms and pistols in his bed, he caused one of the attendants to be tampered with to disclose the method of opening the door, and to shew where the pistols were concealed. One morning the King, accompanied by Ruy Gomez, and some others, ordered the door to be softly opened, laid his hand on the sword, and drew the curtain of the bed aside. Carlos was greatly surprized, but the king told him "to be calm. All that had happened was for his advantage, but to moderate the violence of youth it was necessary for the father to have wisdom for himself and his son also." In the mean time Carlos was disarmed, and compelled to be dressed.

Eboli narrated further:—Eboli and the others had pressed for the liberation of the Prince, or for his punishment, in so far as he might deserve it, and this the more in that they feared he might escape, or through the decease of Philip, become king, and maltreat them. As Philip had now found him guilty, he was condemned to death by the Casuists and Inquisitors; in order, however, to avoid bringing the execution of this sentence too palpably before the public, they mixed for four months together a slow poison in his victuals.

This account of that double dealing, bitter enemy

of the King, Perez, would deserve little credit, even if it did not exhibit so many internal improbabilities and contradictions, and were not refuted by better authorities.

Of as little worth, and probably of the same origin, is an account of the death of the Queen Elizabeth, which follows in the Parisian MSS. immediately after the above narrative of Don Carlos. It runs thus: after the death of the Prince, of whom Philip was jealous, not only for reasons of policy, but because he had been formerly affianced to the Queen, Philip determined to rid himself also of the latter; and what brought him to this was, that a Marquis del Pozzo made love to a lady at the court, and sometimes by night came into the residence of the Queen to see his mistress. When the King learned this, he caused some gentlemen in his confidence to disguise themselves as beggars, and to lay themselves down, as if to sleep in a neighbouring hall. They followed the Marquis as he came out of the palace, and identified him for the man they suspected.

Bad luck would have it, that the Queen, at running at the ring, let fall her handkerchief from a window, and the Marquis picked it up. This increased the suspicion, and when the Marquis came out of the palace a second time, he was stabbed, with the words, "Death to the traitor." No further noise arose upon

this. The king directed it so, that the Duchess of Alva, first lady of honour to the Queen, and old matron, came one morning to the Queen, woke her, and said to her, the physicians consider it advisable that your Majesty should take a small medicine, as otherwise they cannot preserve your Majesty from a miscarriage. The Queen rejected this, maintaining that she had never felt better, and that in her present condition of pregnancy she ought least of all to be so treated. While, however, the duchess insisted, behold the King, who slept at no great distance, entered in his night dress, informed himself of the grounds of the contest, at first took part against the duchess, but after having listened to her reasons, joined in persuading the Queen. She withstood a long time, till at last the King told her, the good of the state required it, and presented the draught to her himself. Three or four hours afterwards she was delivered prematurely of a *son*, whose skull was burnt up, and died shortly afterwards.

Luckily Fourquevaulx's accurate reports of the Queen's death are not lost, like those of the death of Carlos, but are still extant, to the contradiction of these fables.

June 3. He writes, the Queen feels the child stir, she was in a fainting fit for more than an hour. In another account of August 1, 1568, he says, the Queen

lament her as the best Queen they ever had, o
likely to have.

In the answer of Charles IX. to Fourquev
October 15, 1568, and the instruction for Car
Guise, whom he sent to Madrid to condole wit
king*, there appears not the slightest indicati
a suspicion that the Queen had died a violent d
Catherine of Medicis on the contrary, (pe
drawing conclusions from herself as to others,)
tainly appears to exhibit some suspicion, when sl
quires from Fourquevaulx still more accurate acco
and says; "I pray you, however, to conduct yo
with your wonted discretion, and so as you
deem necessary and becoming. Give yourself
ble to learn all discourses upon the subject of

after she had, about an hour before, produced a well-formed daughter about five months grown, which was also forthwith baptized. The King, her husband, paid her a visit this morning before daybreak, during which she spoke to him very naturally and like a Christian, and took leave of him for ever, so that never princess shewed more goodness and piety. She commended to him her daughter, the friendship of your Majesty, peace, her attendants, with other discourse which deserved admiration, and could not fail to lacerate the heart of a good husband, as the King was: *(bon mari comme etait le Roi)*. He answered with equal firmness, promised to fulfil all her prayers, and added he did not think her end so near. Then he betook himself (as I was told) in great sorrow and anguish back to his chamber.

In the night, the Queen confessed, made her will, received towards morning the sacrament, and at her request, the last unction. It was between five and six that I first heard, through Don Juan Manriquez, of her great danger, and went to her directly, with the Sieur de Lignerolles. She knew us, and said to me, "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur! you see me in the act of quitting this unhappy world, to pass to a more pleasant kingdom, there to be, as I hope, for ever with my God. Tell my mother the queen, and the King my brother to bear my death with patience, and

avail oursel of them in other places, it may s
here to submit the following assumptions as pr
or highly probable.

1. Carlos had from the beginning a weak br
and an ill-conditioned intellectual constitution.
last failing was exalted by a temperament prone
to phrenzy, though lucid intervals and moments
compunction occasionally intervened.

2. In the times of his greatest excitement
hate which he unquestionably bore towards him
may have originated thoughts and expressions w
bore reference to the death of the latter. We
scarcely, however, here pronounce how far mal
design, sense, and moral responsibility existed in
part of the transaction.

you, for God's sake, not to trouble yourself for your loss, for that she was going hence to the blessed, which was the best thing that could be wished for her. She would there await your Majesty's arrival, at such time as God should have withdrawn you from the toils and miseries which you are bearing for the good of the king and his subjects." She also prays her brother to shew himself as king and master, for this he owes to his kingdom and his people.

This said the Queen, and more which I could not catch, in consequence of my own trouble of mind, for I was rather in need of consolation myself than able to impart it to others. In like manner she spoke with Monsieur de Lignerolles, and was then exhorted by her father confessor, to whom she made answers like a pious Christian, and one in full possession of consciousness, till about half a quarter of an hour before her departure. She then fell into restlessness (travail) which however soon subsided, so that she died so gently it was impossible to fix the moment at which she gave up the ghost. Yet she opened her eyes once, bright and glancing, and it seemed as if she addressed some command to me, at least her looks were fixed upon me.

We soon afterwards withdrew, leaving palace, town, and people in tears, for all, great and little,

It is hard to guess, whether it was a gain or
to the Netherlands that Philip never visited
again.

In the 6th volume of the Memoirs of Gra
p. 99, among the writings and reports on the N
lands of 1559, is an anonymous memoir on t
fairs of the Netherlands, whether it be ascribe
the cardinal himself, or considered as having
delivered to him, in either case it shews the
and intentions entertained. The following me
were suggested.

1. To choose a viceroy for the Netherland
appoint Brussels as the capital.

2. To frame a law for the upholding of the
and cause it to be ratified by the States, but to

France was intent on strong measures against the heretics.

February 6, 1569, the Cardinal Guise writes, King Philip answered my expressions of condolence: "He had found no better means of consolation than that of which your Majesties had availed yourselves, namely, the reflection on the simple and excellent life of his wife, and on her very Christian and blessed end. All her servants, ladies, and maids, knew how much he had always loved her, and how well he had treated her, and the extraordinary sorrow, which he felt at her loss, bore open testimony to these facts. Hereupon he praised her qualities and virtues in every manner, and said, were he to choose a wife, he would wish to find just such another."

June 6, 1573, the bodies of Carlos and Elizabeth were with great pomp deposited in the Escurial *. The whole populace followed the last, and called her a saint.

If I compare all the original accounts which I have exposed above, with three others already before the public, the materials for a lengthy critical discussion present themselves. As, however, the object of all these Letters is simply to bring to light sources of information hitherto undiscovered, and to leave the profitable employment of them to others, or to

* St. Goar, June 18, 1573.

avail ourself of them in other places, it may suffice here to submit the following assumptions as proved or highly probable.

1. Carlos had from the beginning a weak bodily, and an ill-conditioned intellectual constitution. The last failing was exalted by a temperament passionate to phrenzy, though lucid intervals and moments of compunction occasionally intervened.

2. In the times of his greatest excitement, the hate which he unquestionably bore towards his father may have originated thoughts and expressions which bore reference to the death of the latter. We can scarcely, however, here pronounce how far rational design, sense, and moral responsibility existed in this part of the transaction.

3. In every case Carlos was incapable of governing, and there was good ground for strict supervision of him.

4. He and the Queen both died natural deaths, and not the slightest love affair ever took place between them *.

* Whether these deductions of Monsieur Raumer be correct or otherwise, it is evident that there is nothing to justify historians or biographers in stating, as an indisputable and notorious fact, that Philip was the murderer of his son and wife. Monsieur La Cretelle and other modern French authors, less eminent, are among those who are open to this imputation. V. Guerres de Religion. [Tr.]

LETTER XVI.

Granvelle's Memoirs.—Plans for the Netherlands.—Spanish soldiers. — Bishopricks. — Heretics.—The States. — Orange, Egmont, and Hoorn.—Granvelle's removal.—Egmont in Spain. —His letters to Montmorency. — Inquisition. — Iconoclasm. —Philip II. and Maximilian II.—Celibacy.—Philip's debts.— Alva's march.—Orange's retirement.—Emigrations.—Margaret's position.—Egmont's character, trial.—Alva's tyranny.—Medina Sidonia.—New disturbances.—Plans of reform.—Margaret's second appearance.—Alexander of Parma.—Archduke Ernest.

When Philip II. left the Netherlands, (says Vandenesse,) an universal weeping* and lamentation arose. Sept. 8, 1559, he landed at Laredo, after having endured a fearful tempest of twenty-four hours' duration. October 8, an auto da fè was held in the plaza of Valladolid in presence of the King, his son, his daughter, and countless spectators. Twenty-eight men and women were led forward, their sentences read aloud, the obstinate, (a sad spectacle,) burnt; and the rest conducted back to prison.

* Vandenesse, Voyages de Charles V. et de Philippe, &c.

we labour for them, and press, without compu
the Pope for the bulls of investiture, inasmuch
the affairs of religion must otherwise fall in
greatest danger. None but bad jokers (w
pleasure) believe that the inquisition has any
to do in the matter." Grenville had, moreove
altered his views respecting the bishoprics,
thereto the existing difficulties, and had
to Vargas*. Would to God we had never th
of establishing them. Amen, amen.—The C
the resolution, in another letter to Viglius †:—
he, but the Marquis of Bergh, had first spoke
the King on this matter, and the Regent h
upwards claimed it. The Pope at first wou
consent, on account of the archbishoprics."

It is probable that the last point was intended to gild over the others at variance with the privileges of the provinces. In the mean time, the presence of a Spanish force, and the establishment of the bishoprics, found from the first the hottest opposition.

Granvelle considered the Spanish troops indispensable in the Netherlands, yet it might be best to remove them, if only others could be brought in their place to meet the dangers *. The useful bishoprics were fitted out partly from the possessions of the convents, and the service of the King would gain much if bishoprics were called to council, instead of abbots, who, in public affairs, were just as self-interested as the meanest of the people. March 17, 1560, Granvelle writes to the King:—The States press at all rates for a convention, to the great injury of your Majesty's consideration and name. This error of convening the States had its origin with the Queen †, and twenty years will not suffice to repair

* Letters of October 4, 1559. January 16, 1560. March 15, 1560.

† This untrue and unjust complaint is probably directed against Mary, Queen of Hungary, long Regent of the Netherlands, under Charles V. According to an account, (Mem. de Granvelle, iv. 222,) already in 1552, she begged the Emperor, on the score of her age and sex, to permit her resignation, and also, because she saw that there was little religion in the Netherlands.

the mischief. The country is in wretched condition, and nothing is paid in. For the affairs of religion, Egmont and Orange display the best intentions.

According to a letter of September 7, 1560, Philip already repented the having conceded any thing to the States, and October 7, Granvelle writes: —I despair of the States paying any thing, the last long war has exhausted every thing. If we remind them of the succour afforded by Spain, they answer, that it was so afforded in order to prosecute a war which did not concern them. Unless aid speedily reach us from Spain, the consideration of the King in these provinces will be utterly subverted.

Three weeks later. October 28, he proceeds:— It is impossible, without instant danger of a disturbance, longer to postpone the embarkation of the Spanish troops. As soon as they were seen to march, there arose the most universal joy, and ever since more love has been shewn towards the King, and more zeal for his service. It is true, and I do not conceal from myself, that there is much to be feared both within and without the realm. In no case, however, would that handful of men have been able to keep the provinces under restraint. It would be well to strengthen the army, but on the contrary, to disarm all the natives. The histories of former times, and the example of what they have lately

dared in the presence of the King, lets one conclude of what they are capable of. The Zealanders were resolved not to prosecute the repairs of their dykes, in order rather to perish with the Spaniards, should these once more disembark from the transports upon their territory *.

The Council of Brabant, writes Granvelle, Dec. 15, 1561, is the most mutinous, and seeks to spread disturbance every where. Under the pretext of the common welfare, they gain over the people; in fact, however, they only look to the prolonging their own power, so that it were a miracle that we (the Regent and myself) should longer hold out. It seems to be unadvisable to put a native officer in the chief command of the troops. Some wish, others fear, the arrival of the King. The existence *of the last feeling* is a ground for accelerating his arrival, yet it were well that he should come with a strong attendance. Philip answered:—"The bad state of my finances is a reason that, in spite of my inclination, I cannot make my journey to the Netherlands, yet you may, indeed must, say, that I am coming soon."† The more opposition they shew to the bishoprics, with so much the more firmness must

* Nov. 2, 1560.

† July 17 and Aug. 5, 1562. Granvelle's Memoirs, Vol. VII.

we labour for them, and press, without compunction, the Pope for the bulls of investiture, inasmuch as all the affairs of religion must otherwise fall into the greatest danger. None but bad jokers (*mauvais plaisans*) believe that the inquisition has any thing to do in the matter." Granvelle had, moreover, long altered his views respecting the bishoprics, in deference to the existing difficulties, and had written to Vargas *. Would to God we had never thought of establishing them. Amen, amen.—The Cardinal also maintains, in another letter to Viglius †:—"Not he, but the Marquis of Bergh, had first spoken with the King on this matter, and the Regent had afterwards chimed in. The Pope at first would not consent, on account of the archbishoprics."

March 10, 1563, Granvelle writes to the King ‡: —The Flemings are convinced that they are to be turned into a mere province, to be treated like Italy, and subjected to Spain; hence their jealousy and hate towards this nation. To take from them this notion and give them other thoughts, it were well to invest some of the great men here with employments and preferments somewhere in Italy and Spain, that

* Sept. 14, 1561, VIII. 188.

† Vol. XV. p. 163. Nov. 29, 1564. Jan. 19, 1582. XXXII. 9.

‡ Granvelle, Vol. VIII. p. 162.

they might see how the King treats all his subjects as his children.

The Cardinal approved of the strong proceedings against the heretics, and informed the King; for example, the Marquis of Bergh had caused three to be burnt in Valenciennes *. He proposed, that all persons should be compelled to swear to the purity of their faith, and their submission to the laws against heresy †. Those who refuse the oath, to be deprived, within twenty-four hours, of their arms, to be allowed a fortnight to dispose of two thirds of their property, and then to be expelled the realm for ever; the remaining third part of their property to be applied to pious uses ‡. Philip, on his side, wrote: —"The example and calamities of France prove how wholesome it is to punish heretics with rigour. No one feels more than I do the necessity of my jour-

* Vol. VIII. p. 176, April 14; and Vol. IX. p. 13, July 5, 1563.

† July 14, 1563, Vol. IX. p. 20. However zealously many persons of quality complained against the confiscations which emanated from the King and the Inquisition, yet, if Viglius may be believed, the same men were well content when the proceeds of confiscation accrued to themselves. Granvelle, XV. 87, Nov. 15, 1561.

‡ Dec. 12, 1563. Vol. IX. p. 133.

ney to Flanders *; but I would fain perform it in an honourable fashion, and so as that I could shew them a severe countenance (*un rostro severo*). The Flemings whom I have preferred to office in Italy, shew themselves tolerably indolent in their posts, and all persons to be appointed must be of unquestionable orthodoxy. Finally, I doubt whether the Prince of Orange would take a Viceroyalty such as would bind him down to a continual residence."

As, however, Orange, Egmont, and Horn, now declared they would cease to occupy the places of high authority so long as Granvelle should remain in the government, Philip asked counsel of the Duke of Alva, who answered †:—"He was beyond himself with rage when he considered the letters and demands of these men. It would be the worst policy to remove the Cardinal because these desired it, only that they might, contrary to his advice, accomplish the convocation of the States. They ought to be punished, but the means for this were wanting at the moment; it were better to appear not to observe, and to disunite them at any price; to flatter Egmont

* April 13, 1563. Vol. VIII. p. 191. Yet Chantonnay writes, Nov. 7, 1564, to Granvelle, "Rien ne touche le Roi que l'Espagne." Vol. XV. p. 47.

† Oct. 21, 1563. Vol. IX. p. 139.

in particular, and invite him to court, but to move the others to execute their public service as before, and to excite them the while to form great hopes from the journey of Egmont.

At last, however, Granvelle was compelled to yield. According to his account, he withdrew himself before receiving any royal order, and only in the hope that the public affairs might take a better turn in his absence*. Margaret found herself relieved, all the nobles sought to shew her complaisance, and Orange and Egmont obtained again great influence†. These two were sometimes entirely united, at other times not, and Egmont undertook, according to Morillon, the journey to Spain quite as much for his own interests as those of the public. The same authority tells us, March 1565, Orange and Egmont treat one another with reserve. Their wives, in particular, are very jealous about precedence, and bear competition with great impatience. According to another report, the Countess Egmont demanded precedence every where over the Princess‡. Egmont was at first much delighted with the reception he experienced at Madrid: the King gave him 10,000 ducats, and hopes of still

* Morillon, Prevot d'Airé et depuis evêque de Tournay. Mém. 1. Juillet, 1564. Granvelle, XIX. 186.

† Morillon, Vol. I. p. 252. II. 230, III. 90.

‡ Granvelle, Mem. XXI. 180.

tion for the abrogation of that rule, inclined to co
pliance, when the Spanish cardinals and Phi
raised numerous difficulties*. On which accou
the Emperor said, "God grant the King of Sp
may never find himself in the difficulties in whic
now am. The conclusions of the Council of Tr
have helped us to little progress, whether in resp
of doctrine or improvement in morals."†

Another subject of unpleasant negociation betwe
Maximilian II. and Philip was that of the del
which Philip had contracted in Germany, and h
not punctually paid‡. The Emperor represent
to him that he thereby not only wronged a consid
able body of persons, but deprived himself of
consideration and credit. The King, however,
that unfortunate circumstances had hinde
engagements.

Orange's intermediate line of conduct, that they published caricatures of him with two faces and two open hands. When the King heard of the plundering of the churches, he grasped his beard, swore by his father's soul to exact severe punishment, and fell sick *. Twice the Regent was on the point of flying from Brussels, but the citizens refused to permit her.

In this state of things the idea could not fail to suggest itself of seeking for aid against the rebellious Netherlander from the German branch of the House of Austria. Philip II. however, was by no means always on the best footing with that branch of his family, and entertained very dissimilar views on many subjects, as the reports of his ambassador at Vienna, Chantonnay, more fully explain. I extract the following :—

In some parts of Germany, especially in Austria and Hungary, there was so great a want of priests, that for miles round not one was to be found, the rule of celibacy having frightened the majority from the profession †. Already was Pope Pius IV, to whom the Emperor Maximilian had made applica-

* Morillon, III. 253, 298. Les gueux (he says) 266 font une guerre impitoyable aux bibliothèques.

† Letter of the Cardinal Delfino, May 4, 1565, in Chantonnay, I. 73.

tion for the abrogation of that rule, inclined to compliance, when the Spanish cardinals and Philip raised numerous difficulties*. On which account the Emperor said, "God grant the King of Spain may never find himself in the difficulties in which I now am. The conclusions of the Council of Trent have helped us to little progress, whether in respect of doctrine or improvement in morals."†

Another subject of unpleasant negociation between Maximilian II. and Philip was that of the debts which Philip had contracted in Germany, and had not punctually paid‡. The Emperor represented to him that he thereby not only wronged a considerable body of persons, but deprived himself of all consideration and credit. The King, however, answered, that unfortunate circumstances had hindered him from redeeming his engagements.

About the same time he consulted the Emperor's opinion on the subject of the affairs of the Netherlands, and received the probably unexpected answer: The King ought to go there in person, but without an army, and endeavour to regain the obe-

* The Bishop of Lanjano confessed to Chantonnay, that the Pope had been gained over to the abrogation of celibacy. Chantonnay, June 14, 1565, I. 156.

† May 11 and 28, 1565. Chantonnay, I. 77, 101.

‡ July 1566, III. 93.

dience of his subjects, not by violence, but to employ, in the first instance, every method of mildness. True he would afford Philip succour if required, but any other occasion and cause would be more acceptable to the Emperor.

Philip answered hereupon, April 1567: Religion was but the pretext of the disturbances, and he remained in the sentiments of softness and mildness which the Emperor knew belonged to him *.

Granvelle also advised the King to moderate the edicts and shew mildness to the good intentioned. He disapproved the plan of sending Alva with an army to the Netherlands, and ascribed it to the influence of the Spaniards founded on partial views, although he was in other respects an enemy of the sectarians, and of great concession †. As soon as Alva's march was announced, Orange said to Egmont ‡, "As the strangers are about to enter the land to destroy it, we must, by help of the general States, carry through a general pardon." Egmont thought on the contrary, the States were gained over by the court, wherefore it was necessary to accommodate every thing, to cause the preachings to be suspended, and wait for a fitter opportunity to introduce re-

* Chantonnay, III. 133. March 1567, IV. 39.

† April 1567. Morillon, IV. 81, 98.

‡ April 6, 1567. Morillon, IV. 81, 98.

forms. Orange hereupon left the country, and while many followed him, others sought to throw the blame upon him and justify themselves *.

The Regent would have seen the return of Granvelle with much greater pleasure than the arrival of Alva †. The Duke (so says the earliest letter upon his arrival) maintains, it is true, strict military discipline in Brussels, but in every other part of the country the Spaniards commit many excesses, think only of their own security, and brand every one indiscriminately with the name of heretic ‡. It is a misfortune that Alva will govern this country in the Spanish fashion, and appears to think of nothing but confiscations. Count Hoorn has appeared, to kiss the Duke's hand; the latter did not lay aside his dignity, and suffered the other to stand bareheaded before him. At the meeting of Margaret and Alva there was much ceremony and dissimulation; they pay one another in the same coin.

In a letter of Fourquevaulx from Madrid, we find,

* April 20, 1567. Morillon, iv. 107, and Granvelle, xxiv. 302, upon the numerous emigrations.

† Marquerite regrette Granvelle et avoue qu'on l'a abusée, Morillon, iv. 192.

‡ Morillon, iv. 217, and in Granvelle, xxv. 119, anonymous letter.

Oct. 15, 1567 *, Margaret sent her secretary, Machiavel, to Philip, with orders to return after an appointed time with or without an answer, as she was determined then to return to her husband. Philip replied, the time was not favourable for a journey; her departure would, moreover, be unacceptable to him. She might at least wait till the next summer, as in the spring he would assuredly come to Flanders, consult with her on important matters, and undertake nothing without the assent of his dear sister. She need not think any thing of the arrest of Egmont and Hoorn, as it had taken place without her privity, with the good intention of averting all the odium and reproaches from her to the Duke.

Aug. 3, 1567. Morillon writes †: Count Egmont is a high, proud spirit, who presumes much on himself, better fitted to dispose a hunt, a hawking, or, at best, a battle, than to manage public affairs. Unhappily he does not know himself. Flatterers have

* St. Germain MSS. 228. 790.

† iv. 214 and 227—233. At Tournay, they rejoiced at the arrest of Hoorn and Montigny, for these nobles had encouraged the disturbances there, and the last, by calling away a guard of 70 men, had made the plundering of the churches feasible. Morillon, iv. 283.

convinced him that he is wiser than he really is, and have urged him so far onward, that he must of necessity take the leap. He has been with the Duke of Alva, but returned musing and low spirited.

Later letters contain the following. They have arrested Hoorn and Egmont, but in their accusations have not confined themselves to individual charges, but have accumulated a confused mass of things *. The whole process is handled more clumsily than if a village judge had the conduct of it, and no one pays any regard to the usual rules of procedure. It is a lamentable thing to see the Countess Egmont with her thirteen children †.

The Emperor thought the arrest a hard measure, and moved Philip once more to mercy; but Philip answered, that if the Emperor knew his grounds he would approve his conduct ‡. Even Granvelle, though otherwise devoted to the doctrine of blind obedience, interceded with the King for Egmont,

* The Councillor Belin to Granvelle, Dec. 14, 1567, Granvelle, xxv. 302.

† 134. 311. Morillon, v. 18—31.

‡ Letter of Chantonnay, Jan. 28, 1568. v. 3. St. Goar says, in a report of April 14, 1572, Le Duc d'Albe notoirement ne peut rien sans ordre et commandement du Roi. St. Germain, 791 and 228.

although he afterwards judged the sentence not unjust *. Nay, if we can credit an account of Morillon, Alva himself was much dissatisfied at being compelled to carry the sentence into effect †. It is more credible that, later, when all his schemes went contrary, he repented his acceptance of his command and shed big tears (grosses larmes). These were, however, surely, tears of malignant fury. The Emperor's repeated prayers, that the confiscated estates of Egmont might be restored to his widow and children, were rejected by Philip with the observation, "that the time for lenity was not arrived." ‡ He also wrote to Granvelle §:—should the Emperor and the German princes intercede for Orange, I will give them my refusal in such terms, that they shall never intercede with me for mercy again.

* Granvelle gave counsels to Belin which illustrate his own disposition. Often to make believe that we see and hear nothing, to think only how we can keep good understanding with our master, to do his wishes, bear with patience; these are the means of advancement. Granvelle, xxvi. 23. Jan. 15, 1568.

† Morillon, v. 79, 80.

‡ Chantonnay, Oct. 8, 1578. Vol. v. and often in vi. 1, and vii. 144, an apology addressed by Alva to the Emperor and the German princes.

§ July 28, 1569. Granvelle, xxvii. 175.

Meanwhile, the financial difficulties, the excesses and extortions of the Spaniards, the losses in trade *, which proceeded from the too hasty quarrel with England, the rigour of the proceedings against heresy, the complaints against the new taxes, condemned even by Granvelle, of the tenth and twentieth penny † increased. As early as Feb. 1568, Fourquevaulx writes from Madrid:—Alva demands reinforcements, as affairs go ill in Flanders, and 2000 veteran soldiers have left him to take service elsewhere, for example, with France, or with the Huguenots. He himself presses for his recall, but Spain is deficient in men of ability, and it will be difficult to find a competent successor ‡.

In several letters of Morillon, of the first six months of the year 1572, we find the following expressions. Many provinces wish to send deputies to the King to remind him of his oath, but Alva will not allow it §. Good men and bad are alike discontented with

* The value of the ships detained by Elizabeth was estimated at six millions. Granvelle, XXVII. 7. March 13, 1569, and p. 149. 154.

† Aug. 18, 1572. Granvelle, XXVIII. 158.

‡ St. Germain, 228. 790.

§ Jan. 1572. Morillon, VII. 1—9. Granvelle deemed it very unbecoming, that the abbots in Brabant had spoken of

him and his tenth penny. They close the shops, and the Duke, on his part, wishes to exclude from trading all who persist in their obstinacy. When Alva in full council declared, it was the King's will that the tenth penny should be paid, Viglius told him—"Whensoever the Queen Mary of Hungary received orders from the King, she used to lay them before the council. Albeit no one entertains any doubt as to those which your Excellency may have, it were well advised, nevertheless, (in order to justify the measure to the people,) to exhibit them." The Duke fell hereupon into extreme fury, swore by his beard that all must be executed without alteration, and added,—"Councillors who set themselves up against the will of the sovereign ought to lose their heads." Elsewhere, however, it is asserted, all the councillors in the beginning voted for the tenth and twentieth penny, and partly looked more to their own advantage than that of the King *.

They are astonished in Spain, says Morillon, to find resistance in a country which they were wont to consider as thoroughly reduced to subjection. Every

mutual obligations of oath between the King and his subjects. VIII. April 24, 1572.

* Champagny, Mem. IV. 12.

thing announces a new disturbance *, and yet Alva remains so proud and indifferent that he will not even read the remonstrances presented to him, and in all his difficulties does not forbear from expense. Everywhere is the poverty so excessive that the means of subsistence fail, and people are compelled to sell their furniture. The open country is insecure, trade is prostrate, the merchants procure no new wares, the soldiers respect nothing. Yet, in these circumstances, Alva said to Viglius, "It is better the King should lose the country than have disobedient subjects." When, however, in order to enforce the payment of the tenth penny, he caused the goods of the citizens to be put up to the best bidder, there were no purchasers †; and when he endeavoured to raise sailors they all disappeared, and he exclaimed, "I can trust no man here; all are traitors."

At last, Philip himself came to the conclusion, that the unusual and military mode of government might embitter the public mind, and he despatched Medina Celi (albeit too late) to the Netherlands ‡.

* Feb. and March 1572. Morillon, vii. 17—47.

† Junius, p. 120.

‡ Letter of Hoppers, July 10, 1572.

Champigny *, a distinguished statesman, furnished him with a report on the causes of the disturbances †, in which he remarks, "Sufficient regard has not been paid to the constitution of the country, its original privileges, and the indispensability of commerce. A tribunal has been set up, which, in bloodthirsty fashion, rides over all laws and forms, and confiscates property to its own advantage. Excesses of every kind are permitted to the soldiers, so that all persons, spiritual as well as lay, are discontented.

In like manner Hoppers ‡ (otherwise a faithful servant of the King) explained the grounds of the troubles. Forgetfulness of God, neglect and usurpation of the government, wantonness of the soldiery, self-interest in the confiscations, abominably cruel judicial proceedings, want of confidence in a sovereign far removed, and arbitrary conduct of ministers unrestrained by reflection or fear.

Later, we find a voluminous correspondence between Philip, Hoppers, the Councillors, &c. upon the pardon to be granted §. The King constantly added new conditions and exceptions, and the whole

* Brother to Granvelle.

† Granvelle, xxvii. p. 219.

‡ Hoppers, 11. 137.

§ Hoppers in 4th vol.

tenor of the proceeding shews how business ought *not* to be conducted in form or substance *.

Medina Celi convinced himself every day more and more that Alva had misled the mind of the King, yet the Duke retained almost absolute power†. Even Medina's concessions could amount to little, for he was neither empowered to alter the edicts against heresy, nor to remit the tenths‡. Nor in the lengthy proposals for reform furnished by Champigny, did their author venture once to make mention of religion. For the rest, it runs,—The bishops must do their duty, and the lay authorities keep a watchful eye over priests and monks§. Every thing introduced by Alva must be altered, in particular his

* The plan for conciliating the people of the Netherlands, by what was called a general pardon, was twice attempted, once by Alva, and a second time by Requesens, without much effect. The first proclamation was so clogged with exceptions, as to be matter of laughter, and Viglius, who had drawn the original draught in a comprehensive spirit, could hardly recognize his work, when returned with amendments from Madrid. [Tr.]

† Morillon, VII. 128 and 144, June and July, 1572. He, moreover, describes Alva as a monster.

‡ Granvelle, XXIX. 7.

§ Granvelle, XXVIII. 224.

taxes *. Every injured person must be indemnified, every extortioner punished, no more useless persons taken into the council †. Only the frontier towns should receive garrisons. The gradual restoration of much of the confiscated property appears necessary; nay, we must prepare for the calling back of the Prince of Orange, in this manner, by restoring him his son, on condition of the latter receiving a Catholic education.

Of all this, nothing in fact took place, and the later stadtholders, as well as the former, were bound hand and foot with regard to the affairs of the church ‡. The following fragments of letters of the time are applicable here.

Granvelle writes, Jan. 11, 1578: It is not the wish to alter the religion, or to rebel against the sovereign which has once more placed arms in the hands of the Netherlanders §, but the bad treatment which

* Chantonnay, VII. 134. It appears that many German nobles received pensions out of the Spanish and Flemish revenues.

† Vargas and Rio had enriched themselves, and brought with them from Italy incomes of 14,000 dollars.

‡ According to Belfontaine, Lettres I. 151, John of Austria had talent for war, but despised negociation, and had no jurists about him. He died of a malignant fever.

§ Granvelle, XXX. 111.

they suffered at Mechlin, Naarden, and other places. The first confederacies were, it is true, composed of such as loved neither peace nor justice, and (like Orange) were loaded with debts. These men held out liberty to the people, and dazzled those who looked no further. The rich thought differently. It remains, however, certain, that they did not understand the spirit of the nation, but wished to serve the King too well, and would yield nothing to circumstances. I alone counselled lenient measures, and yet I was more maltreated than any man *.

Oct. 8, 1579. Philip II. wrote to Margaret, offering to replace her in the vice-government of the Netherlands, and recommending two things to her special attention; the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and of his rights †. She might grant every thing with a reserve of these two points. Margaret, it is true, doubted that she could really be of use to the King, if he entrusted her with no greater power ‡, yet betook herself to the Netherlands, July 19, 1580. She wrote, however, to Granvelle, that the King

* This may be true in respect to the cases of individuals, but hardly in matters of religion. Granvelle, xxxii. 57. April 7, 1582.

† Granvelle, xxxi. 37.

‡ Letter to Granvelle, Dec. 9. 1579. Granvelle, xxxi. 40.

abandoned her entirely, and would not even answer her most important representations. She despaired, when she contemplated the indifference which he displayed in circumstances of such consequence. The Cardinal should press the conviction upon him, that he must change his policy and transmit money, otherwise all would be lost. Granvelle says, in answer *: Since Philip would do everything himself, all must drag slowly on. Yet Margaret might, for the sake of the public, share the administration of affairs with her son. Between the two, however, lively differences arose. Thus writes Margaret to the Cardinal, May 16, 1580 †: I cannot place myself at the head of the government, as my son refuses to obey me, on the pretext that such a division of power is disadvantageous to the royal service. Nay, the Duke (of Parma) would fain quit the country, as considering it against his honour to possess less power than was formerly held by the Cardinal. The latter caused him, however, to observe, that by such a step he would ruin all with the King.

This contention went on unsettled through the entire summer, and Margaret, on the 7th September,

* Jan. 7, 1581. Granvelle, xxxi. 122.

† Granvelle, xxxi. 149. 159.

1581, communicated to the king, through Granvelle, her wish to return home*.

Nearly at the end of Granvelle's memoirs, is a treatise by his own hand, on the grounds of the Netherlands revolt†. He names, bad financial management, small regard for the administration of justice, destruction of trade, incursion of foreign heretics, aversion to foreigners in office, pride and rapacity of the Spaniards, &c. The first and principal ground, however, is the will of God, and his unfailing and unalterable decrees for the punishment of sin and wantonness. For the prosperity of the country was too great, so that men out of mere wantonness gave themselves up to vice. The nobles deemed themselves on a par with kings, although not in condition to defray the capital or interest of their debts. They therefore sought out disturbance, and respected no decisions of law. The Prince of Orange owned to the deceased Queen of Hungary, that he owed 800,000 *france tonen*. The merchants would fain rival the nobility, yea even surpass them, and

* Granvelle, xxxi. 179, 217. According to Champigny's Memoirs, 1592, (t. 74. 111.,) Parma intended to retire of his own accord from the Netherlands. He died in terrible convulsions.

† Granvelle, xxxiii. 274.

there is close friendship between them, the one wanting the money of the other";—so far Granvelle. Taught by experience, he may have become more lenient and provident, yet it is evidence of darker error that he approves, (with reference to the example of Italian princes,) the placing a price upon the head of Orange; nay, even praises his assassination, as an heroic action*.

Sept. 6, 1594†. Don Diego Ibarra writes from Brussels to Don Juan Idiaques:—Our affairs go on ill, both in France and here. Both maladies require the same treatment, viz., a strong, well paid, and well commanded army. The Duke Ernest is not of sufficient robust health to bear these exertions, and the others have neither good will nor confidence to make them fit to be trusted with the sword of the King; they want determination and boldness both in speech and action. The mildness so often recommended for the purpose of putting affairs in better train, must be combined with great firmness, if it is to produce results.

The Duke is an angel; but he must be surrounded with right-minded people, and the evil-minded

* Bibl. Roy. Manuscripts des Pays Bas, No. 377. Letters of Nov. 13, 1579, and July 4, 1580. Bellefontaine Lettres, I. 438. July 23, 1584.

† Bibl. Cotton. Vespasian, F. IX. fol. 291.

must be removed, and he brought to trust the tru
servants of his uncle, to avoid suspecting them, an
conceal nothing from them. If we be not good an
true, get rid of us; but it is unbecoming that Fl
mings, Germans, and Italians should instil into th
Duke suspicion of the King's ministers; nay, it
necessary to withhold from them all means of acces
by which they can produce such results.

LETTER XVII.

Relations between France and Spain.—The Massacre of Paris. —Philip's joy.—Flanders.—Alva's return to Spain.—New dealings with France.—War with England.—Bad condition of Spain.—The Court of Madrid, and Philip in old age.

ALTHOUGH the accounts of the ambassadors at Madrid for the years subsequent to the death of Don Carlos are not so rich in their contents, as those for former years, yet they contain much that is worthy of mention. The first half of the year 1572 was passed in negociations about peace and war. One perceives meanwhile, through all their mutual assurances, that Spain and France no longer trusted each other, and that preparations for war (ostensibly intended only for defence) brought war itself every day nearer.

June 22, 1572, the French Ambassador St. Goar writes from Madrid*: I believe, in fact, that Philip

* St. Germain, 791, and 228, b. c.

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of Spain assures, that he would willingly pre
peace, but that he has great cause to fear at
from France. I am, moreover, persuaded, h
not break unless compelled. Your Majesty ha
and war at your disposal.

early as June 23, 1572, the King of France ha
to St. Goar:—Were I only sure that the
undertake nothing against me, I would no
myself up in foreign transactions. But it is

He says he had rather lose all his other dominions than these.

Meanwhile arrived the account of the affair of St. Bartholomew at Madrid, which made a revolution in all political relations. Catherine wrote with reference to it, August 29th, to St. Goar*. After this disaster we are embarked for the same happy destruction as Spain, the welfare of one lays the foundation for that of the other, and our friendship may be restored. The Reformed looked to nothing but the overthrow of the State; and what with the power which their leaders had acquired during the troubles, it was impossible to ward off the evil. Now with God's help, the King will every where find obedience, and those who by their acts had reduced him to be their colleague, will for the future not withstand him or throw his realm into confusion.

September 12, 1572†, St. Goar answered: King Philip received the account of St. Bartholomew's night on the evening of the 7th, by a courier of Don Diegos. He has shewn upon the receipt of it, contrary to his nature and wont, as much and more joy than upon all the luck and prosperity which has

* Probably some papers are here wanting, and I was not in condition to decypher some.

† F. 50. Erroneously classed with the year 1573.

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* St. Germain, Vol. 792.

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would fain avoid a rupture with your Majesty, but as suspicion excites him from every quarter, as he fears for the Netherlands, and the enterprizes of Count Louis of Nassau vex him, they will, perhaps, advise him, to use the great means which stand at the command of Spain, for the purpose of employing your Majesty elsewhere. July 1, St. Goar adds, the King of Spain assures, that he would willingly preserve peace, but that he has great cause to fear an attack from France. I am, moreover, persuaded, he will not break unless compelled. Your Majesty has peace and war at your disposal.

As early as June 25, 1572, the King of France had written to St. Goar:—Were I only sure that they would undertake nothing against me, I would not mix myself up in foreign transactions. But it is to be feared Philip will not have made such great preparations for nothing.

Philip answered hereupon, after his manner, in general terms*, but was colder even than usual, and very gloomy. He begins, (says St. Goar,) to hate the Duke of Alva, and considers him as the author of the present dangers, and of the loss of Flanders.

* Sept. 5, before the receipt of the accounts of St. Bartholomew.

He says he had rather lose all his other dominions than these.

Meanwhile arrived the account of the affair of St. Bartholomew at Madrid, which made a revolution in all political relations. Catherine wrote with reference to it, August 29th, to St. Goar*. After this alteration we are embarked for the same happy destination as Spain, the welfare of one lays the foundation for that of the other, and our friendship may easily be restored. The Reformed looked to nothing but the overthrow of the State; and what with the power which their leaders had acquired during the troubles, it was impossible to ward off the evil. Now with God's help, the King will every where find obedience, and those who by their acts had reduced him to be their colleague, will for the future not withstand him or throw his realm into confusion.

September 12, 1572†, St. Goar answered: King Philip received the account of St. Bartholomew's night on the evening of the 7th, by a courier of Don Diegos. He has shewn upon the receipt of it, contrary to his nature and wont, as much and more joy than upon all the luck and prosperity which has

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† P. 60. Erroneously classed with the year 1573.

ever befallen him. He cried out to all his people, or ordered them to be sent for, and said to them, "He now saw that your Majesty was his good brother." The next day I had an audience of the King, where he (who otherwise never laughed) began to laugh, and shewed the greatest satisfaction and content. He began with praising your Majesty on account of your title of most Christian King, and said there was no king who could be compared with your Majesty in bravery and wisdom. He next praised to himself the determination, and the long dissimulation of so great an undertaking. Nay the world would scarcely be brought to conceive how it should have come to pass at the right moment, contrary to all appearances and to the expectation of so many worthy, peace-loving people, when some were almost dead with fear of an unhappy war, and others had prepared themselves for satisfying their ambition and insolence. It pleased God, however, to raise up your Majesty as a defence and protection against the incursion of the misery threatened by so many tyrants, who had conspired against the honour and the laws of all sovereigns.

Philip, moreover, ordered processions and a Te Deum; he even ordered all the Bishops to have processions and thanksgivings in their dioceses, especially for the King of France. He expressed in

general, distinctly, what he thought of the event, and shewed his displeasure towards those who tried to make him believe that it had taken place on a sudden and without deliberation. When I heard this, (says St. Goar,) I went to the Prince Eboli, and the Prior Don Antonio di Toledo, and complained that so little thanks were given your Majesty for such work, of which it might be said that it had fallen out as much in fact to the advantage of the King of Spain as that of the King my master. But now they wished to deprive him of the glory he had merited, and to repay so great a benefaction with ingratitude. Those persons excused themselves, praised, thanked, &c.

September 19, St. Goar writes to Queen Catherine: The world is astonished that this affair was so happily conducted in one day, and that it came to pass at a moment when least expected, and to the extraordinary advantage of all Christendom. King Philip, whose affairs are advanced by it, has received the account as well as possible, and although he is of all princes upon earth the most capable of concealing his thoughts, and makes it his occupation to do so, this time he has not been able to hide his joy.

As the expectations founded on the event failed for France, so did they for Spain *. March 30th, 1573,

* St. Germain, Vol. 792.

St. Goar writes: Your Majesty will scarcely believe, with what anxiety they conceal the news from Flanders. The Duke of Alva goes on complaining that the moderation shewn by the Duke of Medina, has ruined his plans. One party was made remiss by it, and the other bolder, and himself the more hated.

Charles IX. who a few months before had wished to defend the Netherlands against Alva's tyranny, wrote, April 6, 1573, in conjunction with his mother, to St. Goar: It is thought strange that the King of Spain should talk of pardoning those who have done him such injury and brought so much evil and misery upon Christendom, and this at a moment, when he is on the point, after so much outlay of men and money, to arrive at an honourable termination. According to what is here openly spoken on this subject he runs the risk of coming into evil report, and being accused of timidity, after having gained so much honour and reputation by his former words and actions. He should take example from me. The more I sought to end the troubles in my kingdom by friendly methods, and to satisfy the Reformers, so much the more did their rapacity and boldness lead them to undertakings against me. The King of Spain will now nourish a serpent in his bosom. Affairs are now in such good train, that he has only to proceed with energy and perseverance.

It may be doubted whether raging fanaticism dictated this letter, or mere craft, in order to throw Philip into still greater difficulties. It is certain that order and repose were not to be restored by treading in the steps of Alva. It was necessary to recall him. April 4, 1574, St. Goar writes to Paris: The Duke of Alva arrived here on the last day of February, not by day, but purposely towards ten in the evening, on which account he was little accompanied. There were great numbers came out to meet him, who returned home on his giving out that he should not arrive by day. He alighted at the house of the Prior Don Antonio, and proceeded thence to kiss the hands of the King and Queen. I am told he knelt twice, and twice the King laid his arms about his neck. I caused him to be watched going in and coming out, and am informed that his brow betrayed discontent, and that he was much fallen from the pride with which he treated every one at his entrance into Spain, &c. The King has not granted him the recall of his son, who, on account of an intrigue with a lady of the court, was banished, and the president of the council of the troubles has likewise received an order to absent himself from court. The second morning, Alva went again, numerously attended, to the King. Yet they say he will soon retire to Alva, and the King will make public his displeasure at all

his doings, in order to appease the Flemings, and give them to understand, they were not maltreated by his consent.

Alva, nevertheless, persevered in advocating war, while Medina took the lead among those who pressed for peace and treating*. The King shewed an unfriendly countenance to Alva, and named notorious enemies of his house for judges in his son's case. Alva, however, made shew of cheerfulness, and concealed his passions.

Notwithstanding the massacre of Paris caused for a time an appearance of good understanding between France and Spain, yet grounds soon sprung up for suspicion and contention. Philip complained especially of the Duke of Alençon's incursion into the Netherlands, which in reply, Henry III. sought to represent as a consequence of the suggestions of Elizabeth, in order to bring on a breach between England and Spain. Philip told St. Goar†, my actions speak my policy. Notwithstanding many provocations and opportunities, I have embraced no movements or innovation, but rather have shewn so much patience in all things, that my own affairs suffer.

* St. Goar, June 27, and August 19, 1574.

† July 2, 1582.

On the other hand, the French Ambassador Longlee writes from Madrid to Paris*: I believe that Philip and the Guises have negociated these six or seven years. The King and his ministers look to nothing but what advances their own affairs, and ruins those of their neighbours. In particular they wish to promote differences and rebellion among your Majesty's subjects; for this they allege would be the counterpart of what the French have done in the Netherlands, that the whole difference would turn upon this, that France would have taken part with Huguenots, Spain with Catholics.

Soon, however, the feud with England occupied so prominent a place, that Philip sought to avoid any further contest with France. The following are extracts from the despatches of Longlee.

1588, February 15. The 9th of this month died Santa Croce in Lisbon, of a fever; out of which so much the more prejudice and delay will arise for the army and fleet, as he, on account of his courage and good fortune, was much esteemed by all, and there are few capable of filling such a command. Yet it is conjectured that it will be given to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a rich man, and one prac-

* May 24, and October 28, 1585. St. Germain, 796.

writes to Henry IV.*: In many parts of Spain suc
as Barcelona, Valentia, Saragossa, are popular r
volts arising, for the most part out of the rigour
the royal officers. The King makes use of the In
quisitors if he chooses to carry any thing throug
by arbitrary means. Thus has there an auto take
place in Toledo, at which three persons of ran
suffered, and upwards of 300 people were throw
into prison.

June 17, 1597. The Count Cantecroix writes t
Champaigny †: King Philip is old, averse from o
cupation and conversation. With all his ill humou
and infirmities, he goes one day to the Pardo, th
next to Aranjuez, the third to the Escurial. N
thing is more insupportable to him than an a
dience, and for a year and a day no one has don

June 19. The fleet was attacked by a storm which lasted two days and nights * and forced the Duke of Medina Sidonia to take refuge in the harbour of Corunna, with about the half of his ships. The others were obliged to make for the open sea, and reached later, and with difficulty, harbours and creeks on the coasts of Gallicia and Biscay. A month will be past in repairing damages; in the meanwhile the season is passing away, provisions will be consumed, the infantry suffer, and new grounds for delay may daily arise.

The unlucky termination of the entire enterprise is well known; on the coasts of Ireland alone 18 ships and 6204 prisoners were taken †. The situation of Philip and Spain became every day more gloomy. He will (says Granvelle) do every thing, and yet does little or nothing ‡. He shrinks from every decision, troubles himself as little for his own fame as that of others, and thinks he has gained every thing, when he only gains time. Of what passes among our neighbours nothing is known in Spain. Few men are satisfied there.

August 3, 1591. The French ambassador Maisse

* Report of July 6, 1588.

† St. Germain, 797.

‡ Granvelle, xx. 129, xxx. 106, xxxii. 11. Morillon, viii. 104.

were not inclined to concede it to him with go
will, he would take measures to assert it by force.

The civil magistrate laid this letter to day bef
King Henry, who immediately sent for the Spani
ambassador, Christoval de Mora, and said to him
great wrath: He was dealing contrary to his du
in endeavouring to seduce his, the King's, subje
in such a manner.

This legal enquiry has not yet commenced, b
the deputies of all the towns and commons of t
realm are already arrived; and on the 20th
King means to open to them his views, at St. Fr
cisco. As the affair is likely to be long, they h
been invited to choose from ten to twelve of th
ablest men to assist at the proceeding, and for
rest, for the saving of expense, to betake themsel

than all these ignoramuses. The Spaniards wish their King possessed no dominions but Spain and the Indies, inasmuch as the rest only cost money and men, and are the cause of new imposts and contributions.

LETTER XVIII.

The Portuguese succession.—Claims of Philip.—Antonio di Prato.—Philip in Abrantes.—His behaviour.—Disposition and behaviour of the Portuguese.

Upon the union of Portugal with Spain the despatches of the French ambassador St. Goar, and some letters appended to them, from Lisbon and Abrantes, contain the following:

1. Anonymous letter to St. Goar. Lisbon, March 15, 1579.

The 20th last month the Duke of Ossuna came to this town, and was very well received. He demanded of King Henry* to cause allegiance to be sworn to Philip II. as Prince of Portugal, and pointed out several grounds why the kingdom should be held to belong to him†. The King answered; he

* The Cardinal of that name who succeeded his nephew Sebastian, killed in Africa, in 1578. He reigned only 18 months. [Tr.]

† St. Goar. St. Germain, Vol. 793.

would order the subject to be legally investigated, and that all Philip's just rights should be preserved to him. He also acquainted the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, Don Antonio, the prior of Prato*, and the wife of the Duke of Braganza, that he would open a legal inquiry on the above question on the 10th in Lisbon, at which every one concerned might prefer their claims, and take cognizance of the proceedings. Hereupon Philip has written to the authorities of the town that he had so often proved his claim, and was so satisfied of his right, that he would not allow it to be again questioned, or send plenipotentiaries to the meeting. If they

* Natural son of the Infant Louis Duke of Bega, who was elder brother to King Henry. He had been taken prisoner in the battle with the Moors, in which Sebastian perished, but escaped after a month's captivity. He asserted his claim to the crown on the death of Henry, and being warmly supported by the nation, held Lisbon and the northern provinces for some time against the Spaniards, but after repeated defeats by land and sea was forced to fly. The national hate of the Portuguese towards the Spaniards made them proof against a reward of 80,000 ducats, offered by Philip for his capture. He took refuge in France, and in 1582 obtained from Catherine of Medicis the assistance of a fleet and army for another attempt upon Portugal. He was again defeated, and returning to Paris, died there in 1595, aged 64. [Tr.]

were not inclined to concede it to him with good will, he would take measures to assert it by force.

The civil magistrate laid this letter to day before King Henry, who immediately sent for the Spanish ambassador, Christoval de Mora, and said to him in great wrath: He was dealing contrary to his duty, in endeavouring to seduce his, the King's, subjects in such a manner.

This legal enquiry has not yet commenced, but the deputies of all the towns and commons of the realm are already arrived; and on the 20th the King means to open to them his views, at St. Francisco. As the affair is likely to be long, they have been invited to choose from ten to twelve of their ablest men to assist at the proceeding, and for the rest, for the saving of expense, to betake themselves home. They answered: "We do not choose to commit the realm to the hands of those judges. The King may open the proceeding, we will then speak." Hereupon the King wished to name four viceroys, but with this also they would have nothing to do.

The entire people are determined to take Don Antonio for their King, and to die rather than submit to have another forced upon them. He was already summoned back to the spot, but when the King heard of this determination of the people, he ordered

Antonio to remain at Abrantes till further instructions. If he, Antonio, find himself unable to carry his views into effect, he intends at least to raise an insurrection in the Indies and the islands, and to apply to France.

2. Anonymous letter to St. Goar.

June 20, 1580.—Don Antonio was proclaimed King at Santarem, was brought in procession with banners to the town house, and received homage from the people, the authorities, and some of the nobility *. Don Coutinho, the first alcalde and military commandant of the town and its circle, would, however, neither acknowledge him as King, nor give up to him the keys of the town.

When this account reached Setuval, where the Governors and the Cortes were collected, it was very ill-received, especially by the Duchess of Braganza, and Antonio and his adherents were denounced as rebels. All see and feel that if such divisions exist, and Antonio on one side and Philip on the other, advance with an army, every thing must go to ruin. Antonio caused immediately all the royal possessions and treasures in Almeyrim to be seized, and came, on St. John's day in the evening,

* St. Germain, No. 794, p. 94.

to Lisbon. He first went to the great church, then, accompanied by many ecclesiastics, and amid dances and rejoicings, to the palace by the sea. He found there Don Pedro D'Acuna, the commander of the militia of this town and the vicinity, with a considerable force, and was by him earnestly entreated, and requested with many words, not to throw into disturbance the town and people entrusted to his care. Hereupon Antonio was greatly embarrassed, and at last asked the by-standers: "Who then am I?" They cried out,—"Our King!"—displayed a banner, and conducted him to the palace.—It is said, he has taken possession of all the money in the Indian-house and Custom-house; many, however, of the principal officials have betaken themselves to Setuval, to make their reports to the Governors.

3. Letter of the same hand. June 30, 1580.

Don Antonio has, since his arrival in Lisbon, made himself master of the Royal palace, the treasure, and other property, has caused some of the nobility opposed to him, among others, a Tavora, under colour of newly discovered grounds of accusation *, to be beheaded. He then proceeded to Setuval, from whence

* Su color de nuevas achaques.

two of the Governors fled to Algarres, the others coming to terms with Antonio. It is also reported that Christoval de Mora has escaped, and that his house with some others have been plundered; that the Papal Nuncio has said mass before Antonio.

4. July 1, 1580.

Don Antonio has issued a general order, that no one, on pain of death, should acknowledge any one else as King, or listen to other orders than his *. Yet many when required to declare themselves have answered, they would abide by whomsoever the Governors should proclaim.

5. Abrantes. March 13, 1581.

Friday, March 10. About 4 in the afternoon, King Philip entered this city, and displayed more satisfaction outwardly than the native Portuguese. The latter are, collectively and individually, devoted to Don Antonio and the bishop of Guardia, and nourish a rooted hatred against the Castilians. Four days since a Portuguese negro fell into a dispute with a Castilian vagabond, (picaro,) upon some occasion as insignificant as the parties. The Portuguese

* Aug. 8, 1593. Henry IV. granted Emmanuel, the son of Antonio, a pension of 1200 dollars for his subsistence.

LETTER XIX.

The Spanish court in 1611.—Public table of the Queen.—A
ings of the Queen and rides of the King.

In the 10th vol. of the Italian reports in the libra
at Paris is a long description of Spain, its manne
usages, authorities, revenues, expenses, &c., in t
year 1611. The following are specimens*.

it, place the requisite vessels, and spread over all a second cloth.

First, there proceed three detachments of the royal body-guard, the sceptre bearers with their silver and gilded sceptres, the upper intendant of the household and the gentlemen pages, all, except the intendant, bareheaded. As soon as the viands are placed, after the direction of the intendant, the Queen is informed, who then appears with her ladies, and takes her seat. A chaplain now comes forward, who blesses the meal, and is commonly presented by the Queen with a portion of the best dishes.

Company is then admitted to see the Queen, but not beyond a stated number, nor of every description. A lady lifts the covers from a dish, a second points it out to the Queen, a third lays it before her, except the Queen by a slight sign of her head reject it. Commonly fifteen dishes are served up, besides the entrés and the dessert. The ladies, usually fair and attractive, carry over the shoulder very clean napkins, and conduct themselves very adroitly in their service.

If the Queen requires any thing, to drink, for example, she makes a sign with her head to the first lady; she makes a sign to the lady of the cups; the lady of the cups nods to the chief intendant; the

chief intendant to one of the gentlemen pages; and after the sign is made, all make low obeisances to the Queen before they pass on the signal. The chief intendant, the page, and an intendant go to the door; the first receives from the cellar master a large crystal goblet and holds it with the right hand, and with the left a gilded salver. He returns with the intendant and the page to the lady of the cups, and gives her the goblet and salver. Both advance to the Queen with the page, kneel, and offer her to drink. Nothing of the above ceremonial is ever omitted, the presentation of goblet, salver, or glass, the particular mode of taking off and putting on the cover, and of putting every thing back in its place.

The proceeding is the same with the dessert, and the washing, when the table is removed.

The nobles who are present, but not on service, stand at one side of the room, and converse with the ladies, as they do with their lovers. Those on service only make low bows, and ogle from a distance.

The proceeding is the same when the King eats in public. If he does so at the same time with the Queen, the attendance and ceremonies are doubled, to the great contentment of the spectators.

2. The airings of the King and Queen, and the riding of the King.

When their Majesties choose to go out, a signal is made with drums and trumpets, upon which the ladies and gentlemen already advertised, the courtiers, attendants, grooms, and lacqueys, put themselves in motion in a prescribed order.

As soon as their Majesties are arrived in the vicinity of the coach, and the persons appointed to help them in mounting are gathered round them, the King takes off his hat and makes an obeisance to the Queen, which she returns. She mounts first and seats herself on the right hand. In another coach follows the entire court attendance, and among the guards riding at the side, the gallants of the ladies mix themselves. At the head of the whole procession move the lacqueys bare-headed; then follow the coaches of the Chief Intendant and Master of the Horse; then their Majesties, the pages on foot, bare-headed and without cloaks, the halberdiers, the carriages of the first Lady Intendant, and the other ladies. The coach of the King is usually lined with green velvet, with gold bolts and handles, and covered with green waxed cloth outside.

When the King rides out, all the people of the court who can ride, join him, the officers of the royal

stable, the town magistrate, the procurators, secretary, and other officials, the pages and body guard. If the King chooses to ride simply and without ceremony, he is accompanied by not above an hundred persons.

LETTER XX.

Philip III.—Situation of Spain.—Expulsion of the Moors.—Revolt of Portugal.

After the death of Philip II., the history of Spain subsides more and more into insignificance, and the diplomatic reports treat almost exclusively of little court bickerings, affairs of trade, navigation, and piracy, &c. The fear or the hope that Philip the Third's cleverer, more statesmanlike sister*, might gain more

* Les Espagnols vont entrer sous la domination d'un jeune prince sans experience, lequel, que scait on, sera troublée par sa propre sœur princesse ainée. Nourrie aux affaires du royaume, y ayant dejà pris l'habitude de commander, et s'y ayant acquis des serviteurs, et comme on dit qu'elle a beaucoup de ressemblance à son pere, il faut croire qu'elle aura degenerée en ambition. Luxembourgh, ambassade de Rome. Bib. Royale, Vol. VIII. p. 41.

Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II., by Elizabeth of France, born 1566. Philip's favourite child, and initiated by

influence was not fulfilled; and if the conclusion of an armistice with the Netherlands on the one hand, appear as an advantage for the exhausted monarchy, the cotemporaneous expulsion of the Moors was a so much the greater folly, and a so much the more despicable outrage.

September 11 *. The King ordered the following communication on this subject to the jurats (jurados) of Valentia. You know the exertions which for many years past have been made for the conversion of the new Christians, the laws which have been passed, with what assiduity they have been instructed

him in all the mysteries of his policy. The attempt of Philip and the violent Catholics of France to place her on the throne of that country on the death of Henry III., forms a memorable passage in the history of its civil dissensions. She was married in 1597, to the Cardinal Archduke Albert, and placed with him at the head of the government of the Netherlands. She assisted in person at the siege of Ostend, and made a vow not to change her linen till the reduction of the place. The siege lasting three years, three months, and three days, it is not surprising that her linen should have acquired a tawny hue, which, in compliment to her, obtained the name of Isabelle. She managed the affairs of the Netherlands with consummate ability, baffling the intrigues even of Richelieu till her death in 1633. Philip II., on his death bed, called her Le miroir et la lumière de ses yeux. [Tr.]

* Brunault depesches. St. Germain MSS., Vol. 800.

in the Christian faith, and how little all this has availed. For not one converted himself, while all from day to day became more obstinate, and more inclined to forge dissensions, as of old, against the realm, and to prepare dangers. On this account, very learned and holy men advise to take short methods, to which I am in any case bound by my duty to resort. They assure me that I ought to chastise the Moors without regard to life or property, on account of the long continuance, magnitude, and scandal of their offences; they pronounce them convict of heresy, revolt, and treason, to the majesty of God and man. Although all alike have merited by their offences, to suffer death, I yet wished to subdue them by mild and gentle methods, and established a junta in Valentia for the purpose of introducing new instruction, and effecting new conversions. Instead of accepting these, the Moors turned themselves to Constantinople and Morocco, and other heretics, sued for aid, and represented an enterprize against this country as easy, because it was suffering from want of men and money.

For the maintenance of my dominions and the salvation of my good subjects from the horrible dangers of the heresy and revolt of that godless race, who injure our Saviour and his people, I have, in trust on God, and for his honour, determined, that all Moors

shall be driven out of Spain. Your peace and security, my beloved subjects, have principally brought me to this determination, for we ought not to let ourselves be surprised by enemies so mighty, and I hope that all of you, as good Christians and true subjects, will join in this most acceptable service, and to this end.

Next to the expulsion of the Moors, was the revolt of Portugal, the most serious loss to Spain. I found the following accounts of it in an Italian dispatch *. The commotions which in 1638 took place in Evora, led the Spanish ministers to decide on weakening their force in Portugal. They sent therefore, four superior officers into the four provinces of the kingdom, and ordered that 6000 men should be marched every year to Flanders or Castille. They further burthened the nobles with contributions to be levied from the royal fiefs and the property of the orders. They ordered that for three years, a fourth of all such property should be paid into the state; and at last insisted that many thousand Portuguese should be sent to quell the troubles in Catalonia, and the expense be covered by a general income tax. Only the attempt to seduce the Duke of Braganza to Spain failed. The Portuguese vexed in such a va-

* Relatione del succeso di Portugallo. MSS. Dupuy, 568.

riety of ways, sent deputies to the Duke, and asked him whether he would assume the sovereignty? He, however, answered obstinately—No! They replied, if he would not undertake the sovereignty, they would found a republic. This plan was frustrated by the Archbishop of Lisbon, who said, that if they should do this, the war would be unjust, wherefore they must prevail upon the Duke, on account of the injustice, the danger, and the oppression to which they were exposed, to accept their invitation. And so it fell out. He was called to the throne, Vasconcellos * thrown out of a window, a solemn procession ordered by the Archbishop, at which a manifest miracle took place: namely, while he was preaching to the people, he prayed that a crucifix which he held in his hand, might give a sign, if it approved of the election of Braganza to the throne. The image of our Lord extricated its right hand from the nail, and gave with it the sign required. Not to mention other miracles which took place.

* Vasconcellos, principal minister to the Duchess of Mantua, vice-queen of Portugal. [Tr.]

LETTER XXI.

Barneveldt's plans for war and peace.—Views of France on the Netherlands.

As early as the year 1606, the French ambassador, Buzenval, exerted himself to sway the republic of the United Provinces to the policy of the French government. I communicate three reports which elucidate the circumstances of that period.

1. September 9, 1606.

In the last convention of the Dutch States, Barneveldt has spoken distinctly enough that it was necessary to quit the warlike policy, up to this moment considered the only salutary one, and strike into another course. It being, however, ticklish and hazardous to discuss this matter in the presence of many, we managed that a smaller number of deputies should be selected out of the States, and sworn to secresy. Before this committee he laid the books of accounts, the statement of the expenditure, debt, present taxes, and the new ones which would be ne-

cessary in the event of the continuance of the war. He then asked the deputies, whether their towns could and would support the last for the time of the war? Whereupon the majority answered it was not possible *.

Hereupon he concluded further that there were but two courses for extrication, either to put themselves under the protection of some prince who would take the chief burthen of the war upon his shoulders, or to condescend to the conclusion of some pacification. In the first event, they could only turn their attention to the King of France, who, however, had hitherto shewn so little inclination to mix himself up in the contest, that he could hardly now be differently disposed, and willing, for insignificant advantages, to undertake the great expenses necessary. It was, therefore, the highest time to put an end to the continued misery by some composition or other. The

* Barneveldt's policy may bear comparison with that of the Athenian Nicias in the matter of the Sicilian expedition.

The peace lately concluded by James I. of England with Spain, had deprived Holland of a powerful ally. The exhaustion of the States was, perhaps, more than equalled by that of Spain, but the military genius of Spinola protracted the contest. The war party headed by Prince Maurice, prevailed, however, for the present against Barneveldt. [Tr.]

enemy offered tolerable conditions, and it was p
sible to obtain better by proceeding with prude
and foresight, by keeping their affairs in good re
tation and condition, and by not suffering their w
to be destroyed by rushing hastily on under the
fluence of difficulties and fear.

Brederode, who was present, to represent
party in the nobility this way inclined, expressed
accordance. The Deputies of Amsterdam and H
found, on the contrary, the decision startling; and
last it was agreed to postpone the affair for a wh
but in the mean time to be preparing the necess
means. Barneveldt denied that he had laid his p
position before Prince Maurice, which, by its ab
surdity, was thought even more extraordinary. I
satisfied he proceeds in good faith, but he makes

foreign prince. We should have to move them in the first place, to stand by the King in the acquisition of the other provinces, and in the expulsion of the Spaniards; then to induce them little by little to the conclusion that no salvation was to be devised unless all the Netherlands should subject themselves to the King. Insomuch, however, as they should determine on keeping a strip of territory to themselves, he would bring them to reason as soon as he should have incorporated into his kingdom the nearest neighbouring territories.

Suppose, however, the case that Prince Maurice and Barneveldt approved and supported this plan; I yet persevere in maintaining, they would not be able to carry it into immediate execution. Nay more, I say, that it would not be advisable to mix ourselves, immediately on the commencement of the war, in such a business. My views are grounded on the disposition and views of this people. The mere lustre of the name of a great Prince who should become their ruler, would make them amuse themselves with staring at him, wondering at his glory, and dressing themselves up in his feathers without being induced to contribute any thing considerable for the support of his grandeur.

You must also calculate that the jealousy of our neighbours, and more especially of the English, will

be faster lulled to rest and rocked, than if we were t
discover our appetites too openly at the beginning
the feast. For although we may persuade ourselve
that no one will wake, make what noise we may, ye
England can well lay many obstacles in our way, es
pecially still possessing, as she does, two importan
places in these provinces.

3. September 29, 1606. Barneveldt has told m
that the affairs of the United Provinces could n
longer remain in their present condition. Eithe
they must offer the guardianship, or even the sove
reignty, of the country, to the King of France, o
choose a prince in the country, or make over som
places to the King, to enable him to conduct th
war with greater rigour. The first plan he consider
impracticable with a people accustomed to their free

of mail for a child of ten years. Four gilded chairs of ebony, and two others covered with embroidered velvet. Two Chinese coffers of wood. Two pair of embroidered gloves. Twenty long dresses of satin, or other silk stuff. Four pieces of cambric. Two gilded goblets made of Indian shells. A great gilded lanthorn. Twenty pieces of fancy workmanship, birds, beasts, and other works of art. Six basons and ewers of Chinese porcelain. Twenty dishes of the same. Two birds of Paradise, &c.

LETTER XXII.

William III.—Princess Amelia.—William Frederick of Nassau.—John de Witt.—Beverning.—Circumstances and Policy of Holland.

Louis XIV. took great pains to obtain accurate accounts of foreign countries. An official report on the United Netherlands of 1655 exists in the 11th Vol. of the Melanges de Colbert. It elucidates the situation, character, and dispositions of each province, the position of parties, religious and political, personal details as to men in power, &c. The following are specimens.

Of the Prince William III., now five years old, nothing can be said except that, with reference to his predecessors, the best hopes may be entertained of him. His grandmother Amelia (born Countess Solms, widow of Frederick-Henry, of Orange) seeks

to maintain her consideration and the ancient usages; but things have undergone much alteration since the time when she was all powerful, and the appearance only of her former power remains to her. She is treated with respect; she speaks with dignity and haughtiness. In her house, the order and pomp of a court is still kept up; but she has in fact little share in the consultations on state affairs, and little trouble is taken to please her in other matters than outward formalities. The Prince, William-Frederick, of Nassau Dietz, her son-in-law, shews her great honour; but among friends, he says aloud, that he will not allow himself to be led by her counsels, and she, on her part, often and plainly disapproves the conduct of the Prince.

The present interest of the Princess appears to consist in hoarding and increasing her means. While some speak of her as very rich, others hold that she is ill provided with ready money at least, since she is slow in defraying many of her debts, and her ordinary expenses are more ostentatious than necessary. In whatever state, however, may be her purse, she certainly keeps a good eye on the main chance, and lives in a kind of dependence upon Spain, since Zwerenbergh and Turnhout are situated in Brabant, which were given her by Spain, on condition that she should influence her husband, Prince William

Frederick, to embrace the peace of Westphalia. As she is inclined to Spain only out of self-interest, she would become a partisan of France, as soon as she could see her advantage lay that way. She also strives to keep herself in such a position that France may think her of consequence enough to effect something in the Netherlands, or with her eldest son-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburgh.

The Prince William-Frederick of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friezeland and Groninghen, has great qualities, and is esteemed by all military men; he is difficult, however, to be understood, as he is by turns reserved and open. His friends complain that he is sometimes warm, sometimes cold, and pays so much attention to the respective power of parties, that it is impossible that they can depend upon him with advantage in extensive affairs. He shews much affection for the young Prince of Orange; but the mother of the latter doubts whether he is in earnest in this, as he in return cannot forget the bad treatment which (as he conceives) he suffered at the hands of Frederick-Henry. Yet they live together, he and the Princess, according to all appearance in friendship. His two stadtholderships bring him in little, and parties are often so strong, that he is obliged, in policy, to give way to their wishes, and cannot always carry his own views into effect. The Hollanders

alone can do any thing considerable for him, for which reason he endeavours to keep on a good footing with them. He is not competently instructed in the affairs of neighbouring nations. No one, on the other hand, doubts his bravery.

Monsieur de Witt, of Dordrecht, Pensionary of Holland, is one of the most considerable men in the State, partly on account of the preponderance which that province possesses over the others, partly owing to the consideration in which he is held among the ten or twelve men who govern Holland. In relation to his dignity and the importance of his office, he is young *, but he possesses great qualities for filling it in all respects—courage and firmness, (by which he never yields any thing through fear,) as also (to judge from experience up to this time) great disinterestedness. His influence rises or falls according to circumstances, as must necessarily be the case in a state compounded of so many parts. In fact, however, he takes the lead in all affairs without its being avowed that he does so. He has also many means at his disposal for guiding them at his pleasure.

Not reckoning his endeavours to exclude the House of Orange, and to forbid for ever the election of a perpetual Stadtholder, he cannot be reproached with

* Thirty years old at this time. [Tr.]

the having any end in view but the good of hi
country; and although his means are but very mo
derate, it is not to be observed that he takes troub
to increase them. He never shews a preference fo
foreigners. He deals courteously with all amba
sadors, and is more intent on discovering, by h
acuteness, the designs of their masters, than on co
cealing those of his country.

Monsieur Beverning * has a quick, open, and bo
spirit, and is devoted to the present government
Holland. He speaks freely and easily, appears le
severe than De Witt, has no disinclination f
France, but would condescend to nothing which cou
conduce to the detriment of his country.

The province of Holland is not unanimous in eve
for, as her trade is various, and apportion
each of the latter associa

account. Haarlem, Leyden, and some towns of North Holland, which find the greatest issue for their manufactures in France, are inclined to us; Rotterdam divides herself between France and England; Amsterdam between France, Spain, and the North. Although these individual views have their respective weight in the States' Assembly, they are yet not powerful enough to allow us to draw any conclusion from them alone as to the turn which any affair, in which foreign countries are concerned, may take in the general assembly. As long as this republic exists in this unformed fashion, and without an head, the result in every transaction must be doubtful.

The chief principle of their foreign policy is to avoid war, in order to escape increasing their debts and being compelled to elect a supreme leader. They consider Spain so weakened, as to be out of condition to renew the war within the next one hundred years, and that if you were to join with them to the destruction of the House of Austria, the powers strengthened by that event would be doubly dangerous to them. Upon this last principle turn all their conclusions with relation to France. From that state the United Netherlands would have, as they think, much to fear and little to hope. Holland dreads specially, first, the re-establishment of an

universal Stadtholder; secondly, the loss of her influence, in case the six other provinces should turn by preference to France; thirdly, the indignation of France on account of the separate peace with Spain; fourthly, the inclination of France to appropriate a share of her commerce and navigation; fifthly, she considers France as generally restless and enterprising.

LETTER XXIII.

Francis I., his cheerfulness and captiousness.—The concordatum and its consequences.—The judicial system and sale of offices.—The election to the Empire.

You are aware that I, in consequence of my earlier researches, cannot place Francis I. so high as many historians have ranked him. Whether my views have been confirmed or impeached by my discoveries in the Paris MSS. you will be able to judge when I shall have laid before you my collection, as far as possible in chronological order.

In the first place the King's cheerfulness is made much account of, and that he understood jesting, and took it well. The following appertains to this subject.

About this time, 1514 *, so Senhie relates in his diary of the reign of Francis I., there was in Paris

* Dupuy's MSS., Vol. 742, p. 5.

ssion of serious abuses, took to himself
f almost all ecclesiastical situations. From
r Carrero, the Venetian ambassador in
ates *:

id that the King, on the receipt of the
ls upon the Concordat, foresaw the evils
ld arise from them, and turning to the
, Duprat +, said—"This bull will lead you
the devil." And he has not deceived him-
e Concordat was in fact a treaty with the

a priest named Cruche, a great talker, who with several others held public plays, farces, and moralities, on the place Maubert. In one of his moralities, for example, appeared gentlemen, who carried cloth of gold, a credo, or their lands upon their shoulders. In the farce, Cruche and his associates had a lanthorn, by means of which many strange things were seen (probably a sort of puppet-show). Among others, a salamander mounted upon a hen; which being interpreted, signified that the king, in whose scutcheon was a salamander, had an intrigue with the wife of an advocate, born à le Cocq. The King immediately engaged from eight to ten of his principal courtiers, who, under pretence of seeing these farces, lured the performer into an hostelry, stripped, and dreadfully beat him, and endeavoured to force him into a sack, with the intention of throwing him out of the window and then into the Seine. The wretched man screamed fearfully, and only escaped death by exhibiting his tonsure. And these things were done by the King's commission.

Francis should certainly have better taken a jest, or given less subject for it by his conduct. Public affairs, however, appear of more consequence. It is known that the King, after the battle of Marignon, reconciled himself with the Pope at the expense of the French church, and ostensibly for

the suppression of serious abuses, took to himself the filling of almost all ecclesiastical situations. Upon this matter Carrero, the Venetian ambassador in France, relates *:

It is said that the King, on the receipt of the Papal Bulls upon the Concordat, foresaw the evils which would arise from them, and turning to the chancellor, Duprat †, said—"This bull will lead you and me to the devil." And he has not deceived himself, for the Concordat was in fact a treaty with the

* Carrero Relatione. Colbert, 5320. Bibl. Roy. 10078. p. 20—25.

† Antoine Duprat, Chancellor of France, and prime minister for twenty years of the reign of Francis I. It was by his means that the great measure of the Concordat, mentioned in the text, was concluded with Leo X. This measure involved the abolition of the charter of the liberties of the Gallican Church, the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, first established by Louis IX., in 1268, and confirmed by Charles VII., in 1438. Its principal effect was to take from the church the election of bishops, and place it in the hands of the King, subject to the Pope's confirmation, and a payment of the first year's revenue to the latter. This was carried in the teeth of strenuous opposition from the clergy and parliament of France. Some of its immediate consequences are mentioned in the text. Duprat was afterwards Cardinal Legate, became an active and cruel persecutor of heresy, and retained his power till his death, in 1535.

LETTER XXVII.

Upon the death of Maraviglia or Merveille.—Relations
Charles V. and Francis 1530 to 1535.—Claims of the latter
Milan.

You are aware, that the complaints which the Fren
set up about the execution of their pretended a
bassador Merveille or Maraviglia, affect in my judg
ment, the judicial proceedings of the Milanese auth
not the Emperor Charles V.

such preferments even before they fall vacant, and in my time, a prelate had the greatest trouble to convince the purchasers that he was still in existence. All acknowledge the disorder; all cry out; and confess that every evil comes from this source; and yet,—

Another passage in Carrero's despatches on the administration of justice, the purchase of offices, &c. runs: "The law is admininistered generally either for favour or money. The former has reference, for the most part, to religion, and the other, the thirst for gold, arises from the circumstance that all judicial situations are matter of purchase, and every one wishes to derive as much interest as possible from the capital laid out. Formerly the King of France had the name of king of the beasts, to signify that he ruled his people as easily as an herd of cattle; the rebellions have now attained the highest pitch, and there is not a man who does not speak disrespectfully of his sovereign."*

* The remainder of this letter and the three following letters, are omitted for reasons stated in the Preface.

LETTER XXVII.

Upon the death of Maraviglia or Merveille.—Relations of Charles V. and Francis 1530 to 1535.—Claims of the latter on Milan.

You are aware, that the complaints which the French set up about the execution of their pretended ambassador Merveille or Maraviglia, affect in my judgement, the judicial proceedings of the Milanese authorities alone, and not the Emperor Charles V. I searched for confirmations or justifications of this view, and now communicate what I found on the subject in Paris and Besançon. The manuscript narration of an anonymous writer in the collection of Monsieur de Fontette contains the following *.

Some days since, the ecuyer Merveille passed through the town, accompanied by the Duke, and by his attendants. Among the latter was a fool or idiot, by name Baptiste. A gentleman who accompanied

* Bibl. Roy. Collection de Fontette. Cahier, II. No. 57.

the Duke, asked him, "to whom do you belong?" Baptiste answered, making signs with his hands, "to Merveille in France, in France." Upon which the gentleman said, "to the gallows with Merveille, to the gallows." An attendant of Merveille heard this, but held his peace, till the Duke had returned to his castle. Then, however, a quarrel arose. The gentleman denied the words, the lie was given him, he escaped, but one of his people was wounded in the arm. Merveille who was not present at the quarrel, but had remained in the castle with the Duke, caused the gentleman to be interrogated (upon learning what had passed) whether he had uttered the words imputed to him. He answered, "No." Giving credence, real or simulated, to this assertion, Merveille replied he was uncommonly troubled at what his people had done. In spite of this apology the gentleman went armed, and, strongly attended, past the house of Merveille, which led to new altercations between the servants. As soon as Merveille heard of this, he sent, in fear of greater mischief, to the chief criminal judge, and prayed him to look to the preservation of order; he did not wish that his people should revenge themselves. The judge, however, did not act, and the gentleman persevered in moving up and down before Merveille's house. Upon

this a third quarrel took place, the majority of the gentleman's followers fled, but he himself was slain by Merveille's people.

The next day, July 4th, came the captain of justice to Merveille's house, consigned all his property, and carried him with all his servants forthcoming to prison, without allowing any one to speak with him; and when they gave the captain a paper which had been drawn up in Merveille's justification, he tore it, and would hear nothing of it. Just as little was it possible to speak even once with the Duke in Merveille's favour during his imprisonment, so that he was found beheaded in the market-place on the morning of July 7. It is probable that they had already beheaded him in his prison. It is yet to be observed, that in Milan every one, capitally sentenced, of any condition soever, is allowed three days after his doom is pronounced, in order to justify himself; which, however, were never granted to Merveille.

So far the French written narrative, apparently of an eye-witness. There is no where any mention of the Emperor, nor is it even hinted that the Duke had the smallest participation in bringing on the hostilities. On the other hand, if there be any truth in the narration, the judicial authorities acted, beyond dis-

pute, contrary to justice, and the Duke falls at least under the reproach, of not having on his part prevented the execution of an unjust sentence.

The affair assumes a somewhat different shape according to the diplomatic correspondence extant in the collection of Cardinal Granvelle at Besançon. August 23, 1533, Charles V. writes to his ambassador at Paris *. The Duke of Milan maintains: he has caused Merveille to be executed, as his subject, on account of homicide. I shall institute fresh inquiries into this, and if there appear ground for complaint, enforce just satisfaction; but I pray the King of France not to disturb the general peace on account of this single event †. On September 9, the Emperor repeats, that he neither was privy to the death of Merveille, nor to the fact that he was an envoy of France. Should the grounds of the action (letter of the 12th October) as stated by the Chancellor of Milan, not be satisfactory to the King, the latter might make application to him, the Emperor, as the Duke's feudal superior.

Although Merveille's death could not form the ground of immediate complaint against the Emperor, Francis I. availed himself of it as a pretext for war.

* Mem. de Granvelle, II. p. 93.

† P. 98 and 103.

Upon his real grounds, and his position with reference to Charles V., the collection of Granvelle gives more certain information. Out of it I select the following.

The instruction which Charles sent to his ambassador, Noircarmes, at Paris, as early as July 9, 1530, is addressed to the effect that the Treaty of Cambrai may be maintained in all its parts *. He adds, that he does not, in spite of the opposition of the princes and states, lose sight of religious affairs, and beseeches the King to apply his attention, that Paris and the other universities may not favour the King of England in the controversy upon his divorce. In later writings of the 6th and 18th of June, 1534, the Emperor declares, he wishes ardently for peace, and has nothing to gain by war, yet that his ambassador should so conduct himself as not to let it appear that his love of peace arises either out of mere fear or hate †.

The Emperor speaks out still more distinctly, in an instruction of August 12, 1535, to the Prince of Nassau at Paris ‡. King Francis, (he says,) has always looked to becoming Duke of Milan, and forcing Sforza to content himself with a pension. To this the Emperor cannot consent; for 1st. The arrange-

* Mem. de Granvelle, II. 11.

† P. 117, 124.

‡ P. 149.

ment is incompatible with the treaties of peace of Madrid and Cambrai. 2d. The Pope and other sovereigns have declared themselves against it. 3d. It is not advisable with a view to the general good, that either France or Austria should possess that duchy. 4th. The King has no right to it either by birth or infeoffment, for the last was only assigned to Louis XII. with reference to the marriage of Charles V. with the deceased Queen of France, which never took place. 5th. The Duke of Sforza will take no pension nor defer his claims to any of the new pretenders.

Should the French return to the death of Merveille, the Emperor having procured an accurate report of that transaction, cannot resolve to give up the Duke his vassal. Should Francis I. be determined on war, the ambassador is empowered (as if the idea were his own) to offer the King an annual allowance of 60,000 crowns, and also to bring into discussion the marriage of the Duke of Angouleme with the English Princess Mary, as also that of the son and daughter of the King with the son and daughter of the Emperor.

In other later despatches of the Emperor to the Prince of Nassau *, his earnest love of peace is manifested, but Francis insisted on obtaining Milan in

* P. 162—170.

return for a pension to Sforza of from 20 to 25,000 dollars; or that the Emperor should cede to him presently Montserrat, Alexandria, and Genoa. September 4, 1534, the Emperor demonstrates the injustice of these demands on the part of the King, and how greatly he injures his reputation by his lust of acquisition, and his connection with Barbarossa; that he, the Emperor, was rather ready to unite his fleet with that of the King, in order to oppose the incursions of this barbarian. Of like tenor continues the correspondence in the winter of 1534 to 1535 *. The Emperor seeks to shew that the plans of the French on Italy must fail, and why, and wherefore he cannot cede to them the Milanese. Granvelle complains of the pretensions, importunity, and haughtiness of the French ambassadors †. At last, May 16, 1535, Francis declares himself willing to be content with half the revenues of Milan, which he computes at from 400 to 500,000 dollars ‡. Yet these must be assigned upon districts contiguous to his own frontier. The Emperor, on the other hand, repeats the simple offer of an annual payment of 50,000 dollars, and prays the King to take into consideration,

* 12th November, 1534, and January 5, p. 188, 221.

† April 18, 1535, p. 239.

‡ P. 250.

that he, out of love of peace, suffers his own claims on the Duchy of Burgundy to lie dormant.

So continued the negociations, till the death of Duke Sforza, on Oct. 24, 1535, and the Emperor's absence at Tunis, occasioned a change of circumstances, and finally, the third war between Charles and Francis.

I subjoin to the above two accounts, 1st, of Charles V.'s journey through France to Ghent; and 2dly, on the deaths of Rincon and Fregoso.

1st. Nov. 2, 1539.* Francis writes to his ambassador, Marillac, in London:—"The Emperor, my good brother, has informed me that he means to

* Charles de Marillac, reckoned the most able diplomatist of his time, born at Auvergne in 1510. He began his career at the bar; but at the age of twenty-two accompanied a relation, Jean de Laforet, in his embassy to Constantinople. He was himself soon afterwards appointed to succeed Laforet, and remained at Constantinople four years. On his return he was appointed to the embassy in London, where we find him in the text. He was afterwards employed in many important negociations, and his services were rewarded with the Archbishoprick of Vienne. He died in 1560, leaving behind him some memoirs, and a great number of despatches, now in the Paris library, which are reckoned very superior to those of his cotemporaries. He was intimate with l'Hopital, and the friend of Buchanan, and other learned men. [Tr.]

leave Burgos to-morrow, that he will visit me, and pass through my dominions to the Netherlands. This affair not merely redounds to my great honour, content, and satisfaction, but is, moreover, worthy of the good and perfect friendship which exists between him and me." On the 20th of the same month, the constable, Montmorency, tells the ambassador—"According to all the accounts which reach us, it is impossible that a prince can have better will and greater desire to see the King than has the Emperor."* In return, Vilandry writes, Dec. 7, to Marillac:—"No one can be more content than the Emperor with his honourable reception in France, which gives me good hopes for the future."

2dly. Upon the assassination of the envoys, Rincon and Fregoso, the French, 1541, raised as great complaint as for the death of Merveille. In the memoirs of Granvelle, at Besançon, there is a letter from the Emperor to the Pope on this subject, in which he says, he had instituted accurate enquiries into the transaction, and submits himself to the Pope's decision. The blame must fall upon the King of France;—first, because he had refused to listen to the Marquis of Guasto, who was still ready to

* Marillac Depesches, Bib. Roy. 8481. MSS. fol. 1.

† Granvelle's Mem. III. 103.

deliver himself up into the Pope's hands :—secondly, because Rincon and Fregoso had privily associated themselves as enemies, to the injury of Christianity, with banished persons, and by the laws of the land had made themselves liable to capital punishment.

LETTER XXVIII.

Marino de Cavalli on Francis I.—The Dauphin.—The French Court.—The City of Paris.—The University and Military Establishment.

Among the MSS. of the royal and Colbert's library *, is a circumstantial report, furnished to his government by the Venetian ambassador, Marino de Cavalli, in 1547, upon King Francis I., his family, court, &c. I extract the following:—

Francis I. is in his fifty-fourth year, and of such an appearance, that any stranger, without having seen either him or his picture, would say, this is the King! In every motion of his body he shows so much dignity and firmness of demeanour, that no prince of the present day can equal him in such respects, far less surpass him. He has an excellent and vigorous constitution; it is difficult to believe

* Bibl. Roy. MSS. 10,078. Colbert, 5320, pp. 103. 111.

what labours, exertions, and excesses he has gone through. Nature has given him a means by which every year he discharges all his bad humours, so that if the remedy keep pace with the evil, he may yet live long *. He eats and drinks well, sleeps better than well, and what is of more consequence, will always live in the greatest mirth and comfort †. He thence loves to adorn himself with gold, embroidery, and jewels, and wears sumptuous garments, with fringes and ornaments, embroidered vests, the finest shirts drawn through the openings of the vests,—all things after the French fashion, and which contribute to a merry and long life.

He has, like all Kings of France, the property or gift of God, of curing the evil. Before exercising this function, at Christmas, Easter, and the Feast of Our Lady, he confesses and communicates, then makes the sign of the cross on the sick man's forehead, and says, "The King touches thee, God cure thee!" If the sick were not actually healed they certainly would not flock to him in such numbers, and at so much expense, out of all countries. God

* He died in the year in which this was written.

† Mangia e beve benissime, e dorme piu che benissime, e quello che importa piu, vuole vivere in estrema allegrezza e consolazione.

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se them, it is forthwith altered or rescinded. He
lays before them alone, in secret, the weightiest
s, of peace and war, for example, and no one at
ourt dares gainsay them.

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be is heard to speak of all matters, and to
of them in the readiest manner as well as the
st. He speaks not only of war in general, but
tail, of raising, arming and leading troops, of
mpments, attacks, battles, defences; then of na-
tion, hunting, painting, sciences of all kinds,
alry, court manners, &c. Inasmuch, however, as
as had little success in war, some say he is wiser
is mouth than his mind. In truth, however, all
mishaps which have befallen his majesty, have,
my judgement, occurred by carelessness in the
cution, and because he would not undertake the
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us we may attribute to him a lack of care and
ital exertion, but not of knowledge and expe-
ce.

He pardons easily, and gives very willingly, yet
necessities of the time have somewhat cramped
liberality. He spends yearly on himself and his
rt about 300,000 scudi, of which the Queen re-

must certainly have imparted to the Kings of France this honourable and glorious privilege *.

Although the King has, while in health, a body which can and does bear every exertion, yet he will not allow himself to be sensible to the thoughts of the mind, because there is nothing so oppressive to him. He has, therefore, made over almost all business to the Cardinal Tournon † and the Admiral, and deals and answers as these two councillors please; nay, should an order or a decision, issued

* The English reader has little right to condemn the credulity of the scrofulous subjects of Francis or the Venetian who records and shares it. Queen Anne, to use the expression of the continuator of Rapin, was, to prove her descent, put upon touching for the evil. The applicants were examined

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* The English reader has little right to condemn the credulity of the scrofulous subjects of Francis or the Venetian who records and shares it. Queen Anne, to use the expression of the continuator of Rapin, was, to prove her descent, put upon touching for the evil. The applicants were examined by the court surgeon, and thirty reported fit subjects. These were touched privately; the result does not appear. [Tr.]

† François de Tournon, much employed by Francis I. in the most important negociations of his reign, and chief minister during the latter years of that sovereign, after the disgrace of the constable Montmorency. Deprived of this undivided power by the death of Francis, he was yet much employed in various public affairs under three succeeding sovereigns. He was a patron of letters, but a great enemy and persecutor of the Protestants, in spite of which, his talents and merit are highly praised by De Thou. He died in 1562, at the age of seventy-three years, thirty-nine of which had been passed in the active conduct of public affairs. [Tr.]

without previous discussion with these two, displease them, it is forthwith altered or rescinded. He even lays before them alone, in secret, the weightiest affairs, of peace and war, for example, and no one at the court dares gainsay them.

The King's powers of judgement are very admirable, his knowledge very extensive, as is shewn when he is heard to speak of all matters, and to judge of them in the readiest manner as well as the wisest. He speaks not only of war in general, but in detail, of raising, arming and leading troops, of encampments, attacks, battles, defences; then of navigation, hunting, painting, sciences of all kinds, chivalry, court manners, &c. Inasmuch, however, as he has had little success in war, some say he is wiser in his mouth than his mind. In truth, however, all the mishaps which have befallen his majesty, have, in my judgement, occurred by carelessness in the execution, and because he would not undertake the trouble of them, or take part in their actual conduct. Thus we may attribute to him a lack of care and mental exertion, but not of knowledge and experience.

He pardons easily, and gives very willingly, yet the necessities of the time have somewhat cramped his liberality. He spends yearly on himself and his court about 300,000 scudi, of which the Queen re-

to use them nor to control themselves, they were guilty of such misbehaviour and disobedience, in the time of King John, that they all at once forfeited their privileges, and none remain to them except the practice of a little resistance when money is required of them. They pay, however, in the end, if it be against their will.

The University may number some 12,000 or 16,000 scholars, of whom, however, many live in poverty. The emoluments of the teachers are very small, their duties very extensive; yet they crowd to Paris, because the honour of having taught there, makes up for the deficiency of the profit. The professors of the Sorbonne have the unlimited right of chastising heretics, and cause them to be burnt alive

the country has had for these two centuries past. This hope allays the dissatisfaction of the people upon the existing evils. The Dauphin has a strong, well-exercised body, and a somewhat melancholy temperament. He is no great speaker, yet listens to what is spoken, and answers so much the more decidedly, inasmuch as he adheres very determinedly to his views. Although of moderate endowments, and rather slow than quick, it is thought of him, that, like many good fruits, he will only ripen somewhat the later. He looks to getting a fast footing in Italy, and opposed the cession of Piemont. Not much addicted to women, he contents himself with his wife and the Grande Marechâle of Normandy, a woman of forty-eight years. From this age, some argue that the great love which exists between them is either Platonic or, on her part, maternal. She has also sought to instruct, improve, and enliven him, so that he is become, out of a mere jester, quite another man, and conducts himself better with his wife than formerly.

To these observations of Marino, partly acute, partly short-sighted and contradicting one another, I append some others upon the city of Paris, the university, and the military establishment.

The Parisians, he says, had formerly many immunities. Since, however, they neither knew how

to use them nor to control themselves, they were guilty of such misbehaviour and disobedience, in the time of King John, that they all at once forfeited their privileges, and none remain to them except the practice of a little resistance when money is required of them. They pay, however, in the end, if it be against their will.

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The causes of the disorders and disgraces of the military profession have been the captains, who undertook to raise more men than they had the means of doing. They therefore admitted the lowest rabble, and often cheated the soldiers of their pay and perquisites; by which the latter held themselves licensed to plunder, to do mischief of all kinds, or to desert.

LETTER XXIX.

Henry II.—Finances.—Religious Persecutions.—Paul IV. and his Nephews.—Carrero and Catherine of Medici.

THE hopes expressed by the Venetian, Marino, with respect to Henry II., were not fulfilled; and another historical writer says more justly*: He is uninstructed, and arrives a novice at so great a sovereignty; for under his father he had no share in public affairs. Just as little does he shew himself economical as was expected of him, and a good manager. Much rather do the authentic reports extant demonstrate, that, under his and the next succeeding governments an incredible and immeasurable number of senseless and scandalous taxes, and issues of money in presents, took place, and that the finances generally were shamefully administered †.

* Petri Paschalii historiarum fragmenta. Dupuy MSS. 624.

† Colbert, 8627. Bibl. Roy. 2114.

Equally reprehensible were the intolerant ecclesiastical, and the rapacious lay judicial systems. With reference to the former, the Papal Nuncio, Prospero, made representation to the King, June 19, 1551 *: Your Majesty must, for the advantage and support of religion, forbid the printing and circulation of all heretical books, which declaim against the papal chair, the ancient usages of the church, the miracles of Christendom, &c., &c., under the false pretence of lowering the papal and exalting the royal dignity. If your Majesty fail to make timely opposition to all this, and to punish these damnable writers, the evil may proceed so far as to defy remedy, as was the case with the Emperor and Martin Luther.

In comparison with what soon after took place in France against the Reformers, these propositions of the Nuncio are to be called in the highest degree moderate. Since, however, the manuscripts throw no further light upon this matter, I turn to the reports of the Venetian ambassador at Rome, the Archbishop of Vienne, upon Pope Paul IV., his court, &c., in the years 1556 and 57 †. The Pope, he states, fears the Spaniards, and is much addicted to the French, but many causes restrain his good disposition. In

* Memoires de Granvelle, IV.

† Collect. de Fontette. Portef. 3. No. 29.

the first place, his ministers, and especially his nephews, keep him in tutelage, and declare openly that access is only to be obtained to him through their intercession, and that letters or other writings can only reach him through their hands. There are no regulations which they cannot frustrate by their counter regulations. Thus have these nephews prevented the investiture of the Duke of Orleans with Naples, and have put into the Pope's head that he would affront thereby King Philip II. beyond hope of reconciliation. The Pope generally embraces public affairs in the whole, like a philosopher, not in detail, like a man of practice, and leaves their conduct to those nephews. They promise from one day to another, let people wait long for audiences, give double meaning replies, affirm and retract, and when at length all these devices are exhausted, resort to such hot language, and fall into such rages, as is hardly to be endured.

The Pope is too old: he listens willingly to all reports, is prone to believe them, becomes thereby weak in his determinations, alters, interprets what has been said and promised at his pleasure, finds reasons for all his own notions, and will finally decide every thing according to his own view. He then pays no regard to any counter representations, and becomes so obstinate, that nothing is to be

gained over him. So is there nothing to be hoped for from the Caraffas, partly on account of their indecision, partly on account of their caprice, and partly from their inability. It therefore seems advisable to treat them with courtesy, but to pay them in their own coin; that is, to accept from them every thing which can serve our own interest.

The King of France observed, however, in nothing, this selfish advice, but allowed himself to be involved, greatly through the Pope, in a war with the Emperor and Philip II., which was conducted with bad success, and terminated only in the disadvantageous peace of Cateau Cambresis in 1559. A few months later, in July, 1559, Henry II. died; and, in the next year, with the conspiracy of Amboise, began those civil wars which for thirty years so terribly distracted France *. Catherine of Medicis and her sons are, in one sense, sufficiently known in history, and judged by it. Any new information respecting her in another sense must be welcome. I extract,

* Upon the time of Francis I., there are in the Royal Library, No. 8674—8676, rich collections, which afford materials for the more accurate history of France, but do not admit of selection here. They are of the Guises, Chastillon, Catherine of Medicis, Francis II., Maximilian II., Aubespine, Henry de Rohan, Renè of Savoy, Egmont, Philip II., &c.

therefore, the following, from a report of the Venetian ambassador, Carrero *.

The queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, is in her fifty-first year, yet bears no visible marks of age or weakness; she is, on the contrary, very lively, of strong bodily constitution, and so strong on her feet that it is difficult to keep up with her. This great movement creates hunger, which occasions her Majesty to eat not a little, and all kinds of things confusedly. Thence, as the physicians believe, arise severe sicknesses, which bring her to the verge of the grave. In accordance with the genius of her ancestors, the Queen would fain leave a recollection of herself to posterity in buildings, libraries, collections of art, &c., yet she has been obliged to lay all these things aside and employ herself with others. She is an affable, agreeable princess, courteous to all, and studies to satisfy every body, at least with words, which she lavishes with singular liberality.

In business she is so admirably diligent, that not even the smallest affair takes place, or is treated of, without her intervention. She scarcely eats or drinks, nay, scarcely sleeps, without having some storm of business assail her ears. Thus she does in

* Carrero Relatione de 1569 et 1570. Colbert, 5320. Bibl. Roy. 10378. p. 42. 49.

peace and war what is the duty of men to do, but is nevertheless not loved in the kingdom. The Huguenots, namely, thus complain: Catherine amused us with fair words and deceitful shew of friendship, while she was, in fact, in an understanding with Philip II., and was forging intrigues for our destruction. The Catholics, on the other hand, maintain: if the Queen had not favoured the Reformers, and exalted them, they could never have achieved what they have.—It is, moreover, now a time in France, when every one arrogates to himself what he pleases and boldly demands it; but, in case of refusal, cries out, and thrusts the blame on the Queen. Many also think that, even if she, as a stranger, give them all they ask, she yet gives nothing of her own. Every resolution which misbefell, in peace or war, would be laid to her, as reigning uncontrolled without council or associate. I say not that the Queen is a sybil, who cannot err, or who has never trusted too much to herself, but I ask what prince, how wise and experienced soever, would not be put out of his way, in case he should find himself suddenly involved in a war, in which none could distinguish friend from foe, and no aid was to be discovered all around except from persons engaged in party and seldom trustworthy? If the wisest of princes might well, in such complicated circum-

stances, have committed an error, I cannot but be surprised that a timid woman, a foreigner, without confidential friends, almost excluded from the truth, and not even standing at the head of the government, should not have altogether lost her head, and given over the realm to ruin. She alone has sustained the little majesty of the crown which remains, and I am more inclined to sympathize with her than to blame. As I was once speaking with her in this sense, she herself laid before me in detail the difficulties of her position. I also know that she, more than once, has retired to her chamber to weep, there, however, did herself violence, dried her tears, and let herself be seen in public places with a cheerful countenance, because people drew their conclusions from it as to the condition of public affairs. She has also insensibly so set to rights the understandings of Frenchmen, that they no longer speak of her retirement, but rather all fear and wish to please her. Should certain disturbances cease which have made her dependent on the help of many persons, she would reign, like a natural sovereign, with uncontrolled power in this country. In any case, her position will continue the same for many years as is required by the disposition of the King; which is also so acknowledged that men call her King, and all eyes are fixed upon her, she having the power of con-

tenting or injuring any one with her simple yes or no.

It is well known that Catherine believed in astrology. In the Royal Library is a report of the astrologer Symeoni, in which he advises the Queen that her son (Francis II., or Charles IX.) must be crowned towards noon of June 17, and why *. He concludes his mysterious exposition with these words: "Although some earthly minded persons scoff at heavenly things, events within two years shall turn their incredulity to shame." That he meant by this to predict religious disturbances required no great gift of divination.

* Bibl. Roy. MSS. No. 8676. p. 16.

LETTER XXX.

Carrero on Charles IX.—Henry of Anjou.—Francis of Alençon and Margaret of Valois.—An anonymous writer on Charles IX.—Renata of Ferrara.—The Abbess of Jovarre.

I FOLLOW up Carrero's reports on Catherine of Medicis with his character of Charles IX.* The King is between nineteen and twenty years of age, tall, but with legs weak, and ill-proportioned to his body. He stoops somewhat, and appears, to judge by his pale countenance, of unsound health; yet he labours willingly, rides much, and is much attached to the chase, especially that of the stag. His Majesty is not, it is true, very much inclined to business; listens, however, with patience, and remains three and four hours in council. The decisions, however, he leaves entirely to his mother, so that never son shewed more respect and obedience. It is true that

* Colbert, 5320. Bibl. Roy. 10378.

this excessive reverence may be interpreted for fear, —a construction which increases the reputation of his mother in proportion as it diminishes his own. In other respects he shews himself courteous, affable to every one, and must be, in my judgement, very easy to gain over or to persuade.

The Duke Henry of Anjou is somewhat taller than the King, and has also a defect in the legs, but is of better and less pale complexion. He suffers much from a fistula in the eye, for which he was recommended to drink water, and altogether unaccustomed himself to wine. He contents himself with a more domestic mode of hunting, and is addicted to the ladies. He loves command, and his dignity would, perhaps, be too great if he were not so united with the King and so well disposed. In the field he bears all inconveniences with patience, fears no danger, and listens willingly to advice; it is to be hoped that, with time and experience, his judgement may gain strength. He is, moreover, courteous, beloved, and much respected.

The third brother, Duke Francis of Alençon, shews, although only in his fifteenth year, much intelligence, and awakens no small hopes. The Princess Margaret possesses such rare qualities, that the King of Portugal, to whom she is betrothed, will be well off with her as his wife.

Instead of now pointing out from other sources how far the views of Carrero were correct or mistaken, I communicate from an hitherto unknown description of the life of Charles IX., the following*.

He was liberal to every one, and was often heard to say, "a king must be ready in giving, for nations are like rivers, which pour down their waters continually to the ocean, that is, the Treasury." His bodily exercises consisted in jumping, tennis, breaking or shoeing horses, or in driving them, which he understood well, even with four-in-hand. Besides these, he forged weapons, cast cannons, fished and hunted. He was especially, from his childhood, addicted to the chase, even to phrensy. Day and night he wandered about the forests, careless of food or rest, as long as he could indulge this passion. Upon the paraphernalia of the chase, the resort and haunts of the game, and the manner of taking every sort, he has written a book. This daily pursuit of beasts made him cruel towards them, but not towards men†. He killed horses with his own

* Dupuy's MSS., Vol. 86. p. 91, anonymous.

† Hæc quotidiana belluarum insectatio sanguineum eum reddebat in feras non in homines. M. Raumer has considered this passage so much at variance with history, that he has altered the sense in his translation, by supposing that the word

hand, and if he met with asses he frequently struck off their heads, and paid their value to the owners. He killed swine in the presence of his courtiers, and dabbled with bloody hands in their entrails, like a common butcher's man. As he, on one occasion, fell in this fashion upon a mule of Lausac's, who was a favourite of the courtiers, Lausac cried out, "whence has this feud arisen between my mule and the most Christian King?"

Of all arts he practised music by preference, cultivated singers, in particular an eunuch, surnamed Le Roi, and sung himself, with a strong and melodious voice, in the choir. He also gave to musicians considerable ecclesiastical situations.

Marie Touchet, the beautiful daughter of an apothecary in Orleans, was much beloved by him, and

non had been falsely inserted. I venture, with much deference, to doubt whether the passage should not be considered as correctly given. The behaviour of Charles IX., in the affair of St. Bartholomew, has been recorded to his infamy; but it must be remembered that he was young, and the puppet of others, and it is also recorded of him, that he looked back with horror and repentance to his conduct on that occasion. Such feelings could hardly have been the work of such spiritual advisers as he was likely to have about him, and may be fairly presumed to have been the natural workings of a nature not originally cruel. [Tr.]

bore him two sons. When a picture was shewn her of the new Queen of France, Elizabeth, (daughter of Maximilian II.,) she is said to have laughed, and to have said, "Germany does not alarm me." She certainly visited the King during a tedious illness, and it is conjectured that the malady was increased and death hastened in consequence*.

It is doubtful whether King Charles, or the Calvinists, have done most injury to the church; for if the latter killed a few priests and robbed churches, Charles coined the sacred vessels into money, gave the preferments of the churches to his soldiers, to children and women, and sold church property to the amount of two millions.

When a child, he studied grammar, and occupied himself with the sciences, but as soon as he was King, he laid aside these pursuits as unworthy of a sovereign; for, in the judgement of the courtiers, it is praiseworthy to be ignorant. Yet he loved poetry, and himself composed poems in the French tongue. Among the authors of Latin poetry he was partial to Dorat, among those of French, to Ronsard and Baif. When they read their poems to him he listened with great attention, and gave them presents,

* M. Raumer considers it doubtful to which of the parties the words refer. [Tr.]

but not large ones, in order that from want of money they might return soon, and bring something new. The poets, he said, are like good horses, which we must feed but not fatten.

He ate little, and for his health's sake drank only water, or hypocras, made of water, sugar, and cinnamon. He slept very little, and before midnight was generally on horseback, putting the hounds in motion, or about something. His sickness was increased by the fear of the machinations of his brother Francis and his nephew Henry, as well as by the suspicion that he was wasting away by slow poison, or magical contrivances. On this ground two Italian soothsayers, Momus and Kosmus, were cast into prison *.

Charles was tall, but stooped much. His complexion was pale, or the colour of box-wood, an hook nose, wry neck, thin limbs. He was of over hasty disposition, impatient, wrathful, fierce, but not cruel; a good memory, a master of dissimulation when he chose, voluptuous, but not to excess; eloquent, and of sharp judgement. Perjury seemed to him nothing but a figure of speech, and no crime; he therefore violated his faith as often as it seemed to his profit to do so.

* Probably La Mole and Como, or Comæ Ruggieri.

These general sketches of the personal features of Charles IX. find confirmation not only in the history of the state, but in individual anecdotes. One, out of many, for a proof. One day, says an anonymous reporter, Charles went with his brother Henry to the Quai des Augustins, to whip Mademoiselle De Nautouillet. Before them, however, had arrived already the Baron of Viteaux, with Catherine, (the Queen,) who, fearing that they were come to look for him, shut himself up in a room, and bolted the door. The King tried in vain to force it, thinking Mademoiselle De Nautouillet was there: had he succeeded, Viteaux was a dead man *.

* This is the probable but not the grammatical interpretation. Et s'il eut forcé il etait mort. [Tr.]

sion for the marriage of the King and Queen of Navarre, only on the conditions previously laid down, and that Chavigny is hardly in condition to procure a better and more favourable answer. On this account, and considering how greatly the peace and welfare of my dominions depend upon that marriage, I, in pursuance of good counsel, determined to let it be concluded last Monday. All my subjects have exhibited the greatest joy and contentment, as I cause to be represented to his Holiness, through your nephew Monsieur de Branville. You have, therefore, speedily, and before his Holiness learns the grounds of the journey of Monsieur de Branville, to demand an audience, to make your representation, to express what the good of my service requires, and

crown, as well as highly destructive to the interests of all other sovereigns.

In the marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, many thought they had discovered a way out of these mischiefs; but the Catholic zealots partly, and partly the Hughenots, started so many difficulties, that it was necessary to gain over, *pari passu*, the Pope and Joan of Navarre. With reference to this, Charles IX. writes, Oct. 5, 1571, to his ambassador at Rome, Ferrails*:—The Queen of Navarre has several times besought me to do her son the honour of marrying him to my sister, by which the promise would be fulfilled which my father had given to the deceased King of Navarre. Before I gave her any hopes on the subject, I consulted the most eminent and faithful of my servants, who agreed with me that, in the present condition of my kingdom, the marriage in question was the best means of ending all troubles, of freeing the Prince Henry from the hands of those who have made themselves masters of him, of binding him to myself, and finally leading him back into the bosom of the holy church. I have found mother and son very flexible, and disposed towards my views and counsels which I gave them for their salvation and repose;

* Dupuy's MSS., Vol. 523.

so that it now comes to advancing further in this matter, and gaining over the Pope to it. Entirely in the same sense runs a letter of the Queen Catherine, of the same day's date; both, however, were recalled, and new ones prepared, obstacles being, on one hand, interposed by the adversaries of the plan, on the other, the Queen's consent being rather held out in prospect than really bestowed.

As she (the manuscript proceeds) would not consent to the marriage, they went so far as to threaten her they would, on account of the marriage which had once been contracted between her and Duke William of Cleves, declare her son illegitimate. At last she yielded, but said that she apprehended nothing but ill fortune from this marriage. As Joan, however, made new proposals on the subject of the marriage, I required her (proceeds Charles IX.) to come to me to acquaint herself with my views; yet no further progress has since been made, and nothing will be concluded without acquainting the Pope.—The latter, however, raised so many difficulties, that the affair did not advance, and Charles at last sent Mons. de Chavigny to Rome, to set all to rights *.

* Joan had been promised to Duke William of Cleves, *per verba de præsenti*, but the marriage had been cancelled by a brief of Pope Paul IV. Teschenmacher Annal. Clevie.

Pope Gregory XIII., who in the mean time, May 13, 1572, had ascended the papal chair, demanded, at last, as the price of his dispensation, the following conditions:—

1st. The King of Navarre shall, in secret, make an orthodox profession of faith.

2dly. In his own person, or through others, he shall beg for the dispensation.

3dly. He shall restore all the Catholic clergy in his dominions to their possessions and dignities.

4thly. He shall grant the Catholics free exercise of their religion.

5thly. He shall marry Margaret in the church, without suppression or alteration of the ceremonies.

In his answer Charles IX. pointed out, that in any case all these conditions were not to be obtained, and allowed the marriage to take place, on August 18, 1572, before any full understanding with the Pope had been attained.

The letter is remarkable which Charles IX., on the 24th August, the day of the massacre, despatched to the ambassador at Rome, Ferrails. After several insignificant passages, it runs *:—I have gathered from your despatches of July 29 and August 2, that his holiness is firmly determined to extend his permis-

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 323.

sion for the marriage of the King and Queen of Navarre, only on the conditions previously laid down, and that Chavigny is hardly in condition to procure a better and more favourable answer. On this account, and considering how greatly the peace and welfare of my dominions depend upon that marriage, I, in pursuance of good counsel, determined to let it be concluded last Monday. All my subjects have exhibited the greatest joy and contentment, as I cause to be represented to his Holiness, through your nephew Monsieur de Branville. You have, therefore, speedily, and before his Holiness learns the grounds of the journey of Monsieur de Branville, to demand an audience, to make your representation, to express what the good of my service requires, and especially to imbue his Holiness with the knowledge of my straight forward and upright views. At the close of your last despatch, you tell me that his Holiness is willing to give my cousin, the Cardinal of Ferrara, an explanation upon the subject of the benefices vacant in Rome. Meanwhile *(au demeurant)* I will inform you that, last Friday, as the admiral was going to his house from the Louvre, a gentleman or soldier, hitherto undiscovered, shot at him from a window and wounded him in the arm, and this last night, it has fallen out that the members of the house of Guise, with many lords and gentlemen, (upon

certain information, that the friends of the admiral considered them as the authors of the assault, and intended to revenge it,) have put themselves in motion. Out of this a great rising has taken place, the guard at the admiral's lodging was put to the rout, and he himself with many of his party and religion was slain. In different other parts of the town also people have been massacred, as Monsieur de Branville will further inform you; and thus I hope, then, that the Holy Father will no longer, on the grounds set forth by your nephew, make any further difficulties, to impart to me the dispensation which is all I have now to write upon to you.

However inured we may be to the depravity of these times, we can scarcely recover ourselves from the astonishment, nay horror, which we feel on finding the King, on the day of the most bloody execution, ordered by himself, should begin a long dissertation with insignificant trifles, should drag in between the important questions as to the marriage, a paltry dealing of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and at last with ice cold indifference, and a paltry *au demeurant*, comes to the horrors of the day, and with unblushing front lies through the narration of it.

In like manner Charles X. writes to the Governor

of Normandy, Monsieur de Matignon, August 28 *. I have received information that, under pretence of the death of Coligny and his adherents and fellow criminals, some gentlemen and others may perhaps gather together, and undertake something against the peace and security of the realm, which I have always endeavoured to secure. As, moreover, that death will be misrepresented, and it will be stated, that it all hangs together otherwise than is by us pretended, I have sent the enclosed explanation, which you are to make known, and therewith give assurance that it has always been my intention to abide by the edict of pacification.

All congregations, preachings, public worship of the Hughenots, are in the mean time forbidden! Every one must retire to his residence and live quietly, (doucement,) as is permitted under the indulgence of my edict, and by which they will secure my defence and protection. Should they, however, refuse to follow these instructions and counsels, *then, let loose upon them, and cut them in pieces as enemies of my crown.* Charles further cancels all commands which he may have given by word of mouth, and maintains that the admiral had organised

* Bib. Roy. MSS. No. 8763, p. 28.

a conspiracy against him, and thus had given great cause for vengeance and punishment.

That the last assertion was a lie is well known; with respect to the verbal orders alluded to, further information is to be gained from the account of a well-informed but anonymous eye-witness *. It runs thus:—

On the day of St. Bartholomew, the King sent Monsieur de Molle to Provence, with a letter to the Count de Tende, according to which he was to slaughter all Hughenots. In a postscript Charles added; the Count was to believe and do nothing of what Monsieur de Molle should say to him. The Count despatched forthwith his secretary the Count Bautry to Paris, to enquire the real pleasure of the King, and received a command immediately on his messenger's return, to kill all Hughenots. Tende, however, died, while occupied, really or in appearance only, with preparations, and his successor, the Count de Courcis, would not order the slaughter, since he had no order to the effect personally addressed to himself. This occasioned another mission of Monsieur de Molle; Courcis, however, not receiving for three weeks further accounts, either from him or from the King, despatched Monsieur de Vaucluse,

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 661.

who travelled with such extraordinary speed that he reached Paris on the very day on which Molle quitted that city, with a renewed order from the King for the massacre of the Hughenots. Vaucluse, who would not return without having executed his commission, but insisted on speaking with the King, obtained from him, however, at his first audience, no other answer, than that he had already given his orders to Molle. He, nevertheless, remained at Paris, and declared that he still waited for express and extraordinary instructions. The King embarrassed by this, caused him to come to him in secret, and told him, on peril of his life, to communicate to no other than Courcis his present order, which was, not to institute the massacre, as he had another enterprize upon his hands which might perhaps be frustrated by a catastrophe in Provence. Vaucluse hereupon travelled in such haste to Provence, that he reached it before Molle, and prevented the atrocity.

In what the enterprise adverted to consisted, is not precisely unfolded, but that which is imparted shews how weak and vacillating and hypocritical was the conduct of the King, and how he wanted courage to pronounce himself openly for the better course. Nay, when Schomberg, six months later, in February 1573, was despatched to the German princes, the instruction given him was as follows. The King

has learnt that through false reports and libels, it has been attempted to represent his dealings in an hateful point of view, even to the Protestant princes of Germany *, but as to his own knowledge he had never omitted any thing by which he could serve the said princes, he therefore despatches Schomberg to inform them of his good dispositions, to contradict calumnies, &c. Schomberg was further to tell the story of St. Bartholomew's night, and how no part of the occurrences had happened through religious animosity. No one (it proceeds) will be forced in his conscience, and if, exclusive of the leaders, individual Hughenots have, in consequence of the execution done upon the admiral, suffered some damage, *(quelque dommage,)* this has only occurred through the hate and aversion which the people, on account of the injuries they have suffered in the late troubles, still entertain against the Hughenots, &c. As to Rochelle, the King is seeking to recover it by every gracious admonition.

One is almost rejoiced to discover no more fresh,

* Instructions pour les ambassadeurs en Allemagne et en Suisse de 1567—1617, Brienne MSS. No. 292. There are similar ones in Bougars for 1593—1599, in Dupuy, Vol. 43, and the object always is to gain over the German princes. Dupuy, Vol. 288, 289, contain instructions for the embassies in Rome, Spain, England, and other European countries.

but ever-lamentable elucidations of this untoward period. As a rare and consolatory page we may cite a letter addressed by the noble Chancellor Hospital, January 12, 1573, before his death, to the King *. After giving a true assurance of his firm love, truth, and impartiality, and recommending his affairs to the King, he proceeds: Sire, I pray God to lead you by the hand in all affairs, and that you may govern the great and fair kingdom, which he has committed to you, in all mildness and humanity towards your subjects, imitating him in that he is kind, long suffering of our offences, and remits and pardons our sins.

As Charles IX. was visibly approaching his end, his brother the Duke of Alençon formed a scheme for usurping the throne to the exclusion of the King of Poland. He managed (says a manuscript of the time) his affair with such dexterity and success, that he had gained over all the ministers and great persons (with the exception of the Queen mother, the Guises, some of the Parliaments and governors of provinces) †. In order to obtain information of all Alençon's designs, and spy all his movements, the Queen mother put about him a Florentine Cosmo Regissi ‡, under the pretext of teaching him Italian.

* Baluze MSS. Vol. 509. Fontette Collect. Cassette iv. No. 54.

† Dupuy MSS. anonyme, Vol. 661. ‡ Ruggieri.

Cosmo, however, following the apparent good fortune of Alençon, attached himself to his party, and gave the Queen no information but such as his new master permitted him to give. One day, the four heads of the party, Alençon, La Mole, Montmorency, and Cosmo were together, consulting upon their further measures, when La Mole began an ill-timed dispute with Montmorency, upon their future rank and precedence. Montmorency answered at first with great courtesy, but was afterwards so impatient that he quitted the place, by which so much time was lost, that the other party anticipated their schemes, and were enabled by degrees to arrest the conspirators; nay, La Mole was forthwith executed in consequence.

LETTER XXXII.

Pope Sixtus V.—His severity.—His treasure.—Affairs with Henry III.—The Ligue, Spain.

At the time when Henry III. and the Guises were at war, secret or open, all parties sought the support of Sixtus V. The Cardinal Joyeuse, who at that time negociated for the King at Rome, has left some reports upon that formidable head of the Church, from which I extract the following *.

Sept. 7, 1587, he writes to the King: I have had an audience of the Pope, who spoke long and much, with ease and warmth. He laments the wretched condition of France, and maintains that what your Majesty wants resolves itself into two things, money and severity. With respect to the latter, he held me a long discourse, how important it was that a prince should be feared and respected, as well by his subjects as by foreign powers, and should never allow

* Dupuy MSS., Vol. 374. Despatches of 1587 and 1588.

himself to be braved by any man, far or near. I myself, he added, found, on my elevation to the papal chair, the papal power much degraded in Rome and Italy, but I raised it again. At that time, the princes of Italy were by no means on good terms with one another, and entertained still less reverence for the vicegerent of Christ; the most distinguished families and first houses of Rome lived in open feud, and were united in one point alone, namely, to give themselves no trouble as to what the Pope would say or do. The entire states of the Church were filled with exiles and criminals. In a short time, however, I brought things to a pass that the greatest were compelled to bow to my yoke, and the robbers and other rabble were dispersed or rooted out.

In respect of the second point, the acquisition of a treasure, the Pope pointed out, in a similar discourse, how important it was for a prince to be always well provided with money. He then digressed to himself, and said, "The Pope, in comparison with the King of France, must seem like a fly to an elephant; yet I have, in a short space of time, collected much money, and shall soon lay by a good deal more." The conclusion of all his observations was, that we must, like himself, make ourselves feared, and accumulate much money.

In the same report Joyeuse remarks: Many of the cardinals receive pensions from France. If, however, we do not proceed, with the help of a strong provision, as we have begun, those, hitherto our pensioners, will turn into our mortal foes. We shall lose all respect among the others, and no one will any longer range himself on our side, however big may be their promises.

In this position, Henry III. prayed the Pope to give or lend him money *. Sixtus answered, I will rather give than lend to the King; under the condition, however, that he carry on the war in earnest, and that we may perceive some signal advance in his measures. When the ambassador observed, that his master would not apply to him unless compelled by necessity, Sixtus interrupted him, and said: "Necessity! Why then has the King fallen into this necessity? Why has he not laid by money for such chances? Nothing has befallen him which he should not have foreseen. *A prince without money is nothing.* The last words he spoke with warmth, and as if in anger. As Joyeuse hereupon would fain have excused the King, and began; "that the Pope was not well informed of the affairs of France," Sixtus interrupted him so that he could not proceed,

* Despatch of Nov. 1, 1587.

and said, "he was very well informed of them, and knew well what he was talking of." And while he spoke these words, Joyeuse proceeds, he set both his hands to his sides, and looked into my very eyes in a terrific fashion. Yet the discussion commenced afresh and Sixtus was more temperate.

I besought his Holiness, says Joyeuse, to tell me upon his conscience whether he, with reference to all that had happened, could advise your Majesty to place all your power in the hands of others? The Pope, on this question, became suddenly another man, told me I was right, and that he could never with a good conscience give such advice. Nevertheless, this mistrust will bring down the destruction of the kingdom; there never will (as he always maintained) any thing satisfactory happen, either in peace or war, nor in any other important respect. From this the Pope fell upon the deceased Pope Gregory XII. and the Cardinals of Como and Sens, and said they were prime raisers of the last troubles in France, especially the Cardinal of Sens, who deserved to be hanged. After repeating these words two or three times, he added, "The Cardinal of Como did this to serve the King of Spain, whose dependant he was all his life; the Cardinal of Sens, on the other hand, out of mere depravity, because evil was a pleasure to him, and it was out of his nature to do good.

Those who made insurrection in France were wrong, for no cause, no pretext, can justify the taking up arms without permission of the Sovereign. They will have no good fortune; God will punish them for the evil of which they are guilty, and specially for this, that, on account of the well-founded apprehensions of the King, the heretics are not driven out of the country. More than once have I shed tears for this when I was still cardinal."

At the close of the conference Joyeuse remarked, that the King of Navarre had, in the time of his weakness, found succour from Elizabeth and the Protestants, and that the Pope was so much the more bound to support Henry III. Despite of this argument, the Pope deferred the whole application to a college of cardinals.

In a second report of the following day, (Nov. 2, 1587,) Joyeuse writes: The Pope says your Majesty must combat all the disobedient, Catholics as well as heretics; nay, he named the principal Catholics, saying that your Majesty should cut off their heads, and such like things. When I brought him back repeatedly to the loan, he replied, "I should be ashamed to lend the King so small a sum as 300,000 dollars; I would rather give a million; but all must go quietly." We (Joyeuse and the ambassador) could extort from him nothing further than,—that

the congregation had yet furnished no report, and we must allow him to conduct his business at leisure and without hurry.

Soon after we wished to lay before him, in your Majesty's name, some names of persons whom he might nominate cardinals. He interrupted us, however, and said, "The King is not to suppose that I will name cardinals at his pleasure, before Lenoncourt presents himself before me, as is fitting. Nay, I will take from him his cardinal's hat, if he do not appear before the next promotion takes place. He is a perjured man, who has let eleven months pass away without appearing to his duty. The cardinal of Sens, he said another time, will never mend himself, he is incorrigible, without all judgement. Otherwise, what I have so often represented to him, and the hard rebuffs he has so often received from me when I found that remonstrance was useless, would have produced their effect upon him *.

The Pope received, subsequently, information that the heretics had been defeated in France, and that no thanksgiving or rejoicing had been solemnized in consequence †. With reference to this, he remarked, during the open sitting of the consistory, "Saul was severely rebuked, threatened, and punished, be-

* Nov. 16, 1587. † Feb. 8, 1588.

cause he failed, after his victory over the Amalekites, to put to death, in compliance with the command of the Lord, men, women, children, oxen, sheep, and other living things." Joyeuse felt that the Pope uttered this against the King of France, but held his peace in order to avoid scandal. So much the more did Sixtus extol Queen Elizabeth, saying, that if she were not an heretic she would be worth a world. What a praiseworthy work to convert such a woman!

When the Arch-duke Maximilian was taken by the Poles, the Pope said, "The sins of the House of Austria are the cause of this calamity."* The Emperor Rodolph II. is a poor prince with no good quality, and a cold Catholic, and his father Maximilian† was a very bad prince without any religion. In this Polish enterprize they shewed neither justice nor prudence. As an election had already taken place, it was incumbent upon them to exhibit dexte-

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 504. fol. 39.

† Maximilian II., the most tolerant, and perhaps, on the whole, the best sovereign of his day. The Archduke Maximilian was his fourth son, and was defeated and taken prisoner by the Primate of Poland in endeavouring to place himself on the throne of that country in 1588. He was obliged to purchase his liberty by yielding the crown to his rival Sigismond, son of John, King of Sweden, by the Polish Princess Catherine Jaghellon. He was afterwards Grand Master of the Teutonic order. He died without issue in 1619. [Tr.]

rity, power and courage, in order to prevail. The Poles wished to pocket his money like that of every one else. Now, however, it is to be hoped, that the Prince Sigismund of Sweden will suppress, not only the Polish, but also the Swedish heretics.

In a similar sense to Joyeuse, the French Ambassador, the Marquis Pisani, writes to Henry III *. The Pope will do us no mischief, in as far as it may require expense to do it. Whether he may not apply other means and devices, I cannot take upon myself to answer. Notwithstanding an intermittent fever, he will not keep his bed, consults no physician, scoffs at their ignorance, labours without ceasing, and will not lose an hour; all for the sake of leaving affairs in the best possible state for his successor.

* Dupuy, 504. Despatch of Dec. 24, 1587.

LETTER XXXIII.

Old and new Ligue.—Influence of Philip II.—Character of Henry, Duke of Guise.—His wife.—Catherine of Medicis and Henry IV.—The Barricades.—Flight of Henry III.—Guise and the President Harlay.—The English Ambassador Stafford upon these affairs.—Debaucheries of Henry III.—Pasquinades on the French Court.

Upon the times of the Ligue, the House of Guise, the Barricades, &c., I have found many notices in the Paris MSS. which may serve for correction of the information already extant. I shall, however, leave that employment to others, and content myself with simply imparting what these sources of information afford me.

In the first place, an anonymous writer narrates as follows*: The first Ligue arose out of the assembly of the Church at Trent, and ended with the death of the elder Duke of Guise. Finée, secretary to the elder cardinal of Lorraine, possessed the papers which related to it. In another manner

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 661.

sprung up the new great Ligue; at least, Antonio Perez told Monsieur de Vair: Don John of Austria* bound himself, (during his stay at Paris,) on his journey to Flanders, in a compact with the Duke of Guise, of mutual support against their respective sovereigns. The Duke of Mayenne, however, knew nothing of this alliance. Proofs of all this were found in the papers of Escovedo, and might have excited the King (Philip II.) against the Duke of Guise. The King of France, however, negociating in the mean time with the Dutch, and thwarting the plans of the Spaniards in Flanders, and the Queen mother having taken Cambrai into her protection, Philip determined rather to revenge himself on Henry III., and offered the Duke a pension of 200,000 dollars. The Duke entered willingly into the plan, but wished to wait for the death of Henry. It was only when the Spanish minister, John de Mendoza, pressed for the greatest haste, since without it the affairs of Philip must suffer material injury, that Guise was compelled to proceed.

The author of this paper adds to this narrative of

* Don John of Austria was one of the greatest intriguers that ever lived, and the wildest in his schemes. Perez, however, is seldom to be depended upon. [Tr.]

Antonio Perez: the Duke of Guise was so crafty that he deceived all with whom he dealt. Having secrets of all sorts ready for use, and imparting one thing to one man, and another to another, in order to lead them whither he would, he made every one believe himself in the secret of the real posture of affairs. Thus he promised the Pope and made him believe one thing, the King of Spain another, the Queen mother a third, the Duke of Lorraine a fourth, Mayenne a fifth, &c.

Our informant represents the relations of Guise to his wife very differently from Alexander Dumas. He says, viz., in order to gain adherents, the Duke (did the impossible) went all lengths, and lent his wife to all comers, even to Monsieur St. Megrin, who was surprised with her on the bed of the Queen mother, at which the Duke merely laughed *.

That the enterprises of the Guises against the King are older than the alliance of 1585, appears in addition to other evidence, from a letter of the English Envoy Cobham to Leicester, May 13, 1580 †. The Duke of Mayenne complained lately of the ill government of France, and required, in the name of

* This account of Catherine of Cleves is at variance with all that Sully and other authors of repute say of her character.

† Caligula E. VII. Bib. Cotton.

Guise, the Duke Casimir of Pfalz Simmern to set on foot for him 8000 Reistres, and 6000 Swiss; he would make over to him five French towns on his own children as hostages. Casimir agreed, but the thing came to nothing, by reason that he demanded the free exercise of their religion for the Hughenots, that Condé and Navarre should be restored, &c.

Henry III. would willingly have gained over the King of Navarre, but for weighty reasons did not himself conduct the negociation to its result. Catherine of Medicis undertook it, Dec. 25, 1586. From her long conference with Henry IV., I extract the following*.

Catherine. "Have I not always shewn myself your good mother and friend?"

Henry. "Yes, up to my fifteenth year, but for six years past, your disposition has been greatly altered towards me, &c."

C. "Do you wish that the trouble which I have given myself these six months past should remain entirely fruitless, after you have so long detained me with trifles?"

H. "That is not my fault, Madam, but your own. I do not hinder you from sleeping in all convenience

* It is to be found very circumstantially detailed in Dupuy MSS. Vol. 317.

in your bed, but you, for eighteen months past, have prevented me from resting in mine."

C. "Must I then always remain in this trouble, when I ask for nothing but repose?"

H. "This trouble pleases and refreshes you. If you were at rest you would not live long."

C. "I once knew you so mild and persuadable, and now you give free course to your passion."

H. "You are right, Madam, but long sufferings and your hostile treatment, have altered me, and changed my early disposition."

As Henry next spoke of his resources, Catherine answered: "Herein, my son, you deceive yourself greatly, you fancy you have forces, and have in fact none." "Madam," rejoined Henry, "I am not here to learn news from you on that subject." With these words the conversation, as given in our MSS. closes. Another MS *. bears the title, Histoire particulière de ce qui c'est passé a Paris au jour des Barricades et autres jours suivans au mois de Mai, 1588. The author has not given his name, but was without doubt an eye-witness, of the Duke of Guise's party. I impart the substance of it as follows.

That the Duke of Guise might not enter Paris, the Swiss and other troops guarded all the ways. Nay,

* Dupuy, Vol. 47.

it is said, they had command to kill him, in the event of his endeavouring to penetrate by force, which many good citizens were alarmed about. At eleven in the evening, Guise left Soissons, was not detained by the Swiss and other troops, and entered Paris towards noon by the Porte St. Martin. He was muffled, and covered his face with his mantle till he reached the Rue St. Denis. There, a young gentleman of his following, named Fourronée, as if in sport, lifted his hat from his head, and said it was time he should let himself be known. As soon as he was in this manner recognized, the report was every where spread that the Duke of Guise was come. Pursuing his way, he alighted before the door of the Queen mother's residence, who received the first account of the event from her female dwarf, who was looking out of the window. She refused to believe it, and said the dwarf should be whipped for lying. The moment, however, she discovered that the dwarf had spoken the truth, she was so moved with joy and content, that she was seen to tremble, shudder, and change colour *.

When the King received the account, he said, "Guise should be welcome," but ordered his guards

* Mais l'instant elle connut que la naine disait vrai, dont elle fut tellement emue d'aisé et de contentement, qu'on l'a vu trembler, frisoner, et changer de couleur.

to assemble. In the first audience, the Duke declared, he was come to justify himself and share with his friends their danger, knowing that there was an intention to maltreat them, as he had seen by an heap of letters, a good foot high *.

The people behaved very coldly at the first erection of the barricades, but warmed up afterwards by degrees, in such fashion, that in a few hours they had closed up many streets. Monsieur de Dinteville, who had remained with his Switzers on the new market-place, did what he could to keep the people within bounds, sometimes by threats, sometimes by fair words. At first he said, the King only wished to cause a search by means of his gentlemen in the quarters and houses of the city. He then declared, the citizens should conduct the search, enter the houses first, and be only supported by the gentlemen. The King would not take it ill that the citizens should arm themselves, only no one must go out of his house. Soon afterwards an order was issued

* Henry III. wrote May 9, 1588, to his minister in London, Monsieur de Chateanneuf. The Duke of Guise arrived here yesterday about noon unexpectedly. He tells me he wishes to justify himself against all calumnies, and prays me to believe, that he is ready to do every thing for my service. I shall wait for the good consequences of this promise. Pinart depeches, Vol. 8808.

from the council-house, in the sense of the last assurance of Dinteville, and in contradiction of the two former. Under the impossibility of disarming the citizens, they hoped to be able, by this mode of proceeding, to keep them in their houses.

The president, Tambonneau, commander of the citè quarter, who had done all in his power to prevent the gathering of the citizens and the barricades, betook himself to the King, and entreated him to withdraw the guards and the Swiss, which, however, (as he himself told me,) was steadfastly refused.

It was remarked, that the King, in speech and countenance, was never so joyous and cheerful as on this morning. He said to the Archbishop of Lyons, who waited on him, "I must be obeyed, and will remain master." As the archbishop could not procure compliance with his repeated suggestion for the withdrawal of all the troops, he went to the Queen mother, to represent to her the greatness of the danger—was aware, however, from the words and deportment of the King that some great plan was in agitation, and that there was no safety for him. On this account, he borrowed from one of his friends (he had come on foot) who lived near the Louvre, a mule, mounted upon which, he hastened to Guise's residence, made a report of his embassy, and assured

the Duke that he was come to live and die with him.

Meanwhile the bravadoes of an officer, who commanded in the Hotel de Ville, heightened the discontent. They perceived in the gateway a servant of the executioner, who was there, either by chance or for some casual reason, and excited by his appearance great alarm of violent measures. Every one hastened to arm himself; but the adherents of Guise were to those of the King as 1000 to 30, so that it was no longer possible to bring the soldiers supplies of powder or provision.

In the first conflict, which took place near St. Michael's Bridge, the soldiers shewed courage, and repulsed the citizens. But four or five nobles, and some foreign officers, encouraging the latter, their zeal redoubled, and they attacked the soldiers with such fury, especially from the windows, that the latter were obliged to abandon their ground.

At this time the King sent Mons. de Bellièvre to Guise to appease him, or (as some say) to merely restrain him, and gain time. The Duke said, "I know well that the King, with his good will, would send me to the Bastille, and put several of my friends to death. Before it comes to that, so much blood will be shed, as to cause himself to be moved with

horror; and as to the Bastille, there I will never go, unless the fancy takes me to do so."

Meanwhile the danger increased to that degree, that the King sent a second envoy, Mons. de Biron, to the Duke. The latter said, I have not stirred from my house, how much soever entreated thereto. It is the King's excellent council,—it is that wretched creature, Mons. de O——, who have counselled him so well. He says I am followed by none but porters (crocheteurs). He may depend, however, upon this, that if he fall into my hands, I will have him whipped from the gate of St. Antoine to that of St. Jaques by porters.

Guise at last went forth, in a doublet of white satin, with no other arms than his sword at his side. Some cried out, Live the Guise! At which he appeared offended, and cried aloud, "My friends, you ruin me; cry, Live the King!" As he passed over the bridge of Notre Dame, and saw the barricades so well constructed, he said to some of the citizens near; "You have done every thing wonderfully well." Upon which, one answered from the crowd, "Sire, we were once flies, but your presence has made us lions."

Barricades of the same kind were constructed even in the Rue St. Honoré and St. Germain

D'Auxerrois; a proof of extreme dissatisfaction with the court. They were also in the Louvre very much dejected with the expectation of a regular siege.

The number of killed is computed at thirty, the wounded at eighty *. A preacher said from the pulpit, "as the Jews had their feast of branches, so we must have our feast of barricades." Above all things were praised by all, the more than heroic virtue, moderation, and wisdom of the Duke of Guise, who would not leave his residence until the King ordered him, in order to set free his, the King's, soldiers. At last the king ordered it to be said, that he wished to visit the Holy Chapel, to which, however, they made answer, that they would not on that account remove the barricades. The King was hereupon much offended; the citizens, however, feared, that, under pretext of this religious solemnity, something was to be undertaken against them. Even the Queen mother was obliged to go on foot, and they removed at each barricade only a single barrel, let her pass through, and replaced it immediately. She displayed a cheerful, determined countenance, without betraying astonishment at any thing.

* By others rated much higher.

The King himself was on the point of betaking himself from the Louvre to the Tuilleries; in the same moment, however, the question was put to the Duke, whether they should detain him. Guise answered with great warmth, "No! he is my king, and free to go or stay, as he pleases." The King stayed but a short time, waiting for his carriage, in the Tuilleries; rested himself upon a stone weeping, and said, among other things, "O thankless city, I have loved thee more than my own wife." The Captain Clerc brought the Duke the keys of the gate of St. Antoine; he, however, would in no wise take them. A gentleman, however, of his suite, who was by, received them. The chief of the merchants was conducted for his own security to the Bastille. Guise caused another to be elected, who was obliged to take the usual oath, and swear it into the Duke's hands.

The commandant of Vincennes came out of the castle on the assurance that he might treat in peace, and that no harm should happen to him. As, however, he had taken no hostages, or provided for his safe return in the event of a disagreement, he was kept fast till the castle was given up.

To these accounts I add another, which apparently is from the pen of the Parliament's councillor, Du Vair, an eye-witness.

The Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Lyons went to the president Harlay*, excused the disorders which had taken place, complained of the King's departure, and said, that it was all popular violence which they were unable to oppose. Harlay answered him roundly;—all these things are in the highest degree dangerous, and he who excites the people ought to be brought to reckoning for it. You, Duke, should consider your honour, your alliances, your ancestors, who were faithful to the king. You should be better advised, and not stain your glory by lending encouragement to bad subjects. Guise and his companions lost their composure so completely upon this, that they knew not how to answer, and the Duke said, as he went out, I have found myself in battles, assaults, and rencounters the most dangerous in the world, but never have I been so checked or astounded as at my encounter with this man. He is like a rock, exposed to every tempest,

* Achille I. de. This great magistrate, who appears to such advantage in the passage of the text, held and adorned the presidentship of the Parliament for 34 years; viz., from 1582 to the year of his death, 1616. He was distinguished as an opponent to the Jesuits and other supporters of the ultramontane doctrines. He attributed to the former the assassination of Henry IV., and professed to be acquainted with some facts in proof of this supposition, which he never disclosed. [Tr.]

but immoveable, and ever firmly bent upon the maintenance of the State, the Crown, and the King.

Soon after, they would fain change all the holders of office in the state, and Guise conducted the Cardinal Bourbon to the Parliament, to make the necessary suggestions to this effect. Bourbon, however, merely said, "All wished to maintain the religion, and Guise, his nephew, would lay before them the rest." Guise immediately took up the word, but inasmuch as he only understood how to converse in the corner of a window, but not to speak in public, he repeatedly turned pale and fell into such discomposure that he was much hindered in his words, nor could the little he said be heard even by the near by-standers, so softly and between the teeth did he speak. At last he concluded, like the cardinal, that the Parliament must remain united with the city.—Hereupon the President Harlay turned first to the cardinal, and said; we are all much rejoiced to see you among us after the commotions which have taken place; for we know the name you bear, the rank you hold in the State, and the interest you take in its preservation. On this account we hope and believe that you will conduct yourself with all prudence, and so direct and manage all things as the King's service shall require, to

whom we owe our posts, our revenues, and our lives. Nor can any other resolution be expected of the Parliament than such as may serve to this end.

Then turning to Guise, Harlay proceeded: As to you, Sire, your ancestors have obtained many benefactions, fiefs, dignities, and alliances in this kingdom, only for this reason, that they did our King's distinguished services. It should not be your part to degenerate from this virtue and fidelity, nor to give ear to those, who place before you the bait of an empty greatness, the pursuit of which must be your destruction, and which you will never be able to enjoy in peace. You should, on the contrary, recommend yourself to the admiration of posterity by this, that you stand by the King on this weighty occasion, and regain his favour by pardon or in some other manner. Pompey won not the name of Great by gaining so many battles, and conquering so many nations, but because he sustained and reincorporated the laws of the state. As to what concerns the Parliament, it is seated on the Lilies and is based upon the King; can, therefore, only do his service, and will rather forfeit the lives of its members than be compelled to any thing opposed to that service.

Guise and his followers withdrew without resolution or answer, but persisted in changing, by their own authority, the head of the merchants and the

other persons in office. Harlay received afterwards the very probable information that he, with some of his partizans, were to be arrested. He refused, however, to fly, but said, if they seek me they will easily find me, in the worthiest place, in my president's chair.—When Le Clerc entered, he refused to follow him to prison, at last, however, consented, by advice of the others, in order to avoid greater violence and effusion of blood.

A third MS. source of information upon this period are the letters of the English ambassador, Stafford to Walsingham, v. copy of letter, Bibl. Harl. No. 288. p. 190.

Cowardice followed close on the heels of overweening confidence in the conduct of Henry. Buzenval, in proof of this, writes to Walsingham, May 31: The King is quite ready to serve under the domination of his people, inasmuch as they will ensure him his life and his repose *. Stafford soon after adds †, the Liguists require unreasonable things, but ever by word of mouth, never in writing, that the people may not be instructed of the particulars, but be made believe that the Liguists do nothing for themselves, but every thing for religion, for the public good, &c. Elizabeth was so displeased with

* Bibl. Cott. Nero, B. vi.

† Letter of June 13, 1588. Bibl. Harl. No. 288, p. 200.

this march of affairs, that she offered Henry III. money and men for carrying on war*.

How, however, was it possible to assist a King who abandoned himself, and fell into universal and just contempt? Much concerning his proceedings may be exaggerated or falsified. There are, however, but too many witnesses against him, and I have found some passages in a French MS.†, after the perusal of which, it appears, in truth, something very innocent and insignificant that the King should have undertaken the occupation of a tailor, have dressed himself up with childish folly, or should have gone about constantly with his wife in a coach, and picked up as he went, all the lap-dogs he could find in the houses‡.

* Letter of June 16. Hackluyt to Jocquelin, Bibl. Harl. No. 288. p. 202.

† The translator omits the extract which Mr. Raumer has veiled in Latin.—Henry's debaucheries have become too notorious, as matters of history, to make any particular account of them valuable. [Tr.]

‡ Allait ordinairement en coche avec la reine son epouse par les rues et maisons de Paris, prendre les petits chiens.

LETTER XXXIV.

Murder of the Guises.—Justification of Henry III.—Instructions to his Ambassadors at Madrid and Rome.—Accusation and Justification of the Legate Morosini.—Murder of Henry III.—Letter of Henry IV. to his Ambassadors, and of the Duke of Mayenne to the King of Spain upon this murder and the posture of affairs.

HENRY III. has been with justice severely handled for having ordered the murder of the Guises; yet it may well be asserted that the chief guilt lay less in the last determination than in all that preceded it, and which led almost inevitably to the crime. In any case it is curious to see how he himself represented the occurrence, and sought to justify it to foreign powers. Two instructions which he forwarded to his ministers at Madrid and Rome afford upon this point the fullest and best information. In a letter of April 3, 1589, addressed to Monsieur du Fresne Forget*, he makes lively complaint of the

* Dupuy, Vol. 121. Bibl. Roy. 8682. p. 63. Instruction also to Schomberg despatched to Germany in 1589. Brienne MSS. Vol. 292.

shameless and unjust demands which daily reached him from the deputies of the States, and were calculated to deprive him of all consideration and power. These things were, moreover, concocted by the Guises who paid, in no instance, regard to the King or the State. The whole conduct (he proceeds) of Guise, his intrigues to gain over the nobility, the citizens, and even the King's own servants, his threats, and the compulsion inflicted upon every one who did not own his controul, shewed visibly to what his efforts tended, nor could his dependents restrain themselves from saying as much out of bravado.—Besides this, the King had received several warnings both from within his own dominions and from foreign parts, that he must guard himself against an enterprise soon to be undertaken, which tended to deprive him of his liberty and crown:—so that nothing else remained to the King for the salvation of his kingdom and person than to do what he had done.—He had in nowise long entertained a plan against the Guise, but, compelled by necessity, had formed it at the moment when he received positive intelligence of the conspiracy, and the danger appeared so pressing, that no other measure remained to be adopted.

The King had moreover received repeated advices, that Philip of Spain had supported the Liguists from

the beginning of their enterprises. Nor did the Duke or his adherents conceal the fact, and the positive proofs of it were partly found in his papers, and partly confirmed by the testimony of his secretaries and other counsellors *. It was true his Majesty believed that the King of Spain had been deceived by the pretext of religion put forward by the Guises; yet the ambassador may represent to him, that it was setting a bad example to stand by subjects revolted against their sovereign, and that God (as a just judge) often let fall the mischief executed by the instrumentality of others upon the head of its contriver. Philip also, already stricken in years as he was, and about to leave his dominions to a very young inheritor, should rather look to raising up friends than enemies.

In the case that allusion be here made to what the brother of his Majesty had done against Philip in the Netherlands, Monsieur du Fresne may reply with truth, that the King did not approve of those proceedings, but had altogether opposed them. Yet respect for his mother (who supported Anjou, because she thought herself injured as to her claims on

* Many of these papers were burnt by a secretary of Guise's. Guise had wished to give up Cambrai to Philip. Instruction to the Bishop of Mans.

Portugal) prevented him from employing all his means against his brother, who, moreover, looked to keeping for himself alone every thing which he might gain by that enterprise.

Then follow bitter complaints of the Spanish ambassador, Bernardin di Mendoza, who had quitted the King without taking leave, and had joined himself entirely to the rebels of Paris *. Never would the King treat with him again. The Duke of Guise (it proceeds, towards the conclusion) feared nothing so much as the destruction of the heretics, since all pretexts would thereby have been cut off from him. While he openly professed that his object was to effect their ruin, he laboured secretly with no small anxiety for their maintenance.

In like manner, but more circumstantially, the instruction to the Bishop of Mans at Rome unfolds the entire occurrence, and says, with reference to the time of the barricades †, the Duke of Guise found himself in Paris, and in the King's chamber, before the latter was aware of his departure from Soissons. The King escaped, it is true, to Chartres, (to the great dissatisfaction of the Duke and his party.) His wife and mother, who remained in Paris, were however kept there in such strict custody, that the

* P. 75. † Dupuy, 288.

latter was refused liberty to hear mass before the gate of the Capucins, and when they afterwards allowed her this, she was surrounded with guards, to prevent her from escaping.

At last, for the sake of peace, the King desisted from many demands, and called the States together, but by means both of force and persuasion, party elections, &c., those appeared at the head of them who had instigated the troubles and put themselves in opposition to the King. Their proposals went to the annihilation of his authority. Every one who held by them, however vicious, or even criminal, was put forward and supported against all process of law, as a part of the authorities were members of the Ligue, and the rest feared their displeasure. In the King's council and presence, the Duke treated every thing concerning the Ligue with such boldness, that no one dared to contradict him, or if any one ventured to do so, it was immediately proposed in the States assembly to drive him from the council.

The Duke compelled the King to give him up Orleans as a place of security, in consequence of a condition, which was inserted as a parenthesis, and in virtue of a writing, which he caused to be more fully drawn up at Chartres than it had been at Paris. The King had never heard of it, and was much astonished when Guise shewed him the document. Two

whole days he wrangled upon it on trifling grounds, insisted then, as being the stronger, upon its contents, although he well knew that the King had been surprised and deceived as to its preparation.

Monsieur de l'Hermitage, first physician to the King, spoke against the Guise upon this affair, but the latter contrived to raise the States so against him, that Henry was obliged to yield to their unbecoming remonstrances, and remove his physician from his person; and the same had nearly happened to Monsieur de Rambouillet on similar grounds. One day the Duke, in the presence of the Queen mother and the King, drove his disrespect and insolence so far as to say, "he would not swear to the points which the King had wished to make the States swear to, and that no one should make him." On which the Queen mother rejoined, that the King would then be able to punish him.

If any faithful servant of the King found himself in any city under the Duke's command, the latter compelled him to quit it. Such contempt did he exhibit, that, on the day before his death, he, with very angry deportment, insisted that the King should withdraw all his power. In a word, he would have brought it to this; that the King should have had no power left to chastise a revolt or any other enormity. Every one contemned him and held him for

lost; and, as at home, so also abroad, he had, by his intrigues, worked against the King, and nothing remained to be done by the conspirators but the last act of the tragedy, to make seizure of the King's person, in order to conduct all things their own way. Nor could they, after what had happened at Paris, do better for the purpose of escaping their merited punishment.

The King received many accounts of the plans of the Duke. Six weeks before the death of the latter, the Duchess of Aumale sent word that she must speak with the King on matters of great consequence, and said to him in the chamber of his wife, "The Duke of Aumale has written to me, that he was present at a consultation at Paris, where the decision was adopted, to seize on the rights and the person of your Majesty and carry you back to Paris. To this end they are about, for the event of possible resistance, to collect 3000 or 4000 men in the neighbourhood of Blois. As my husband disapproves this proceeding, he has empowered me to inform your Majesty of it, that your Majesty may provide your security." The Duchess of Aumale made the same report to the Queen consort, the Queen mother, and many other ladies.

Two or three days before the death of the two Guises, Mons. de Ornano came as courier to the

King, and told him, on commission from the Duke of Mayenne, to be on his guard, for that an enterprise of danger against his majesty was so near at hand, that he, Ornano, would perhaps first hear of it when the blow had been already struck.

It has been, moreover, repeatedly stated to the King, that the Cardinal Guise often said to his confidants, "I will not die before I have got the head of that Henry, that I may shave it for a monk's." On which the Duchess of Montpensier did not refrain from adding, after her habitual warmth,—"I have about me the scissors wherewith to clip him."*

Thus no means remained for saving the state, and the life of the King, other than to take the lives of those who built their greatness on such unjust and impious foundations; so that nature, reason, God, and justice, as also the compassion the King felt for the endless misery which the execution of those plans must have brought upon his subjects, compelled him to punish those criminals as they deserved, by the legal power which God had given

* Catherine of Lorraine, sister to Henry, Duke of Guise. The greatest liguiste and intrigante of her day. She was held for the authoress of Henry III.'s murder. Yet Henry IV. played at cards with her the evening after his recovery of Paris and his throne. His clemency was certainly pushed too far, and what was its reward? [Tr.]

him over those who undertake or execute what is contrary to the law. Had the King in this matter proceeded by the ordinary forms of justice, he would have been, beyond doubt, a lost man.

Somewhat later, (in May, 1589,) Henry III. sent a new envoy to Rome, De la Clielle Brochard, in order to justify the necessity of the above measures, —his alliance with Henry IV., the arrest of the Archbishop of Lyons and others, and to procure the Papal absolution *. At Rome, however, the thing was taken very seriously, and the Cardinal Morosini was even subjected to enquiry, who had been legate in France at the time. The following is to be found in the despatches of the French ambassador, Maisse †. After the death of the Duke of Guise, Henry sent a letter to the legate, wherein he gave him to understand, he had brought to execution that which had been agreed upon between them. This letter Morosini sent to the Pope, and declared, upon interrogation, that he had, as an upright and faithful servant, delivered the original copy to his Holiness, but that he had never had the smallest share in the occurrences. Nor could they possibly take him to be so

* Dupuy, Vol. 288.

† Depeches de Maisse, Jan. 20, 1590. Vol. 1. p. 102. Fond de Serilly.

maladroit and foolish, as in such case to have sent a letter containing the proof of the fact to the Pope. After the death of the Duke, he had opposed the execution of the Cardinal, but had been unable to obtain access to the King, through the guards who surrounded him.

On the further question, why Morosini, after the death of the Cardinal, had not left the court and his post?—he answered:—"In order not to set to hazard the obedience of a kingdom such as France. The calamity, moreover, had taken place, and it was always time enough to depart after receiving orders to that effect from the Pope."

The last accusation of having, after the Duke's death, laughed with the King, and shewn pleasure, Morosini styled, a calumny of his enemies;—"he was an honest man, and might have erred from ignorance but not from wickedness."

Within no more than eight months after the murder of Guise, the King, as is well known, came by a similar end. Jaques Clement (writes the Bishop of Rennes) * was impelled by nothing but his own zeal, inspired by none but God, and offered himself to martyrdom, to free the world of one whose crimes and villanies had risen to such a pitch, that they

* Harleian Library, 4449, fol. 34. Aug. 8, 1589.

were no longer to be tolerated. A sort of official narrative of the event is to be found in a letter of Henry IV., of Aug. 18, 1589, to Mons. de Maisse, his ambassador at Venice *. Since nothing is so certain as not to admit of discrepancies in the modes of narrating it, I will communicate the following:—A jacobin monk, Jaques Clement, who came out of Paris to the camp, was arrested by some of our soldiers, but by accident liberated out of their hands by the Procureur-General, to whom he said, he was the bearer of a writing from the first president to the King. By order of the King he was brought on the following day (Tuesday, Aug. 1st) to his chamber, where was present no one but Mons. de Bellegarde. After Jaques had handed the counterfeited writing to the King, (who was seated on a chair,) he added, he had something secret to communicate to him. As the King hereupon caused Bellegarde and the Procureur to retire, the other made as though he would draw out a second concealed letter, but drew out in its stead a knife, and struck the King with it in the lower belly. The King drew it instantly out of the wound, and struck the assassin with it on the head, which he, however, forthwith repented of. The gentlemen who had entered on the alarm, then slew the cri-

* Maisse Depeches 1. p. 97, b.

minal, although the King called to them not to do so; which would also have been much better, in order to have learned from his own mouth in what shop this impious conspiracy had been forged. There is, however, no lack of proofs. But the just pain and rage which seized upon those gentlemen, left no room for obedience to the King's order, or to other considerations. At first the physicians and surgeons did not remark that the bowels were injured, and gave good hopes of his recovery. Towards night-fall, the pain, however, increased, and lasted without interruption till towards two in the morning, when he gave up the ghost, to my great grief, and that of all his faithful servants.

At the same instant the princes, marshals, and other distinguished persons, remained collected [redacted] to enquire strictly into the [redacted] to me

In quite another sense is the letter written, in which the Duke of Mayenne announces the event to Philip*.

Sire, it has pleased God to take hence a king, whom he suffered to reign for a time, for the affliction of his subjects. This murder has been undertaken and perpetrated by a jacobin monk, of his own motion, (by the inspiration of God,) and without aid or impulse from any other person. God has chosen out so humble an instrument for this vengeance, that all may see that it is purely his work. I have, since the death of Henry III., caused the Cardinal of Bourbon to be proclaimed King, and we do every thing that is possible to procure his release from captivity. The Prince of Bearn assumes, on his side, the title of King, and exerts his best to become master, and I fear that more are inclined to follow his party than ours. If the good cause and the Catholics of this unhappy and ruined country have in time past experienced your majesty's support, good will, and kindness, they are now in greater need thereof than ever, when their adversary is head of the heretics, and will find support from all princes who have separated themselves from the church. This has happened accordingly already on

* Fontette Portefeuille, VII. No. 19.

the part of Queen Elizabeth, and from many in this kingdom, who, under the name of Catholics, seek to establish heresy. We humbly pray that your majesty may bestow your greatness, dignity, and name, for our preservation, and thereby earn our eternal obligation. As you are the greatest monarch upon earth, so are you the only and true defender of the church and the Catholics in all Christendom. We, whose religion and State have been maintained by your benefits, will evermore acknowledge that we have to thank you for all, and I in particular will derive to myself no security, no eminence, no rule of my conduct from any other quarter, than such as springs from your commands, and binds me as your obedient and fast servant.

LETTER XXXV.

Instructions of Philip to his Ambassador at Paris. — Henry IV.'s negociations in Italy.—Despatches of the Ambassador Maisse.—Views of Pope Sixtus V.—Condition of Henry IV. —Contest between Spain and the Pope.—Death of the latter.

Even if Philip II. had not been so urgently entreated by Mayenne, and others of that party, to mix himself up in French affairs, his restless policy would have driven him into that course. Upon the very interesting question; how he considered the state of things, and what he aimed at, we derive valuable information from the instruction which in October 1590, he sent to his ambassador in Paris *. It runs in substance as follows: the firmness with which Paris has defended our faith, well deserved the

* Fontette Portefeuille VI. No. 38. MSS. entitled, Ce que sa Majesté entend être negocié pour les affaires de France, afin de les mettre au chemin qu'il pretend. Another is in Dupuy, Vol. 44.

grace which God has shewn her, to be able to hold out through so long a siege, which, together with the aid partly afforded her, must, and it is to be hoped has taken from her every idle apprehension. The raising of the siege would, however, be an inadequate result of such signal exertions, for Paris might easily within a short time fall back into similar misery, and the Catholic religion ruined. It is therefore necessary to bring all things into order with the greatest zeal after the manner hereafter laid down.

In the first place we must obtain the command of all the rivers and roads, which lie within the compass of the Bearnese's operations, and must cut off his supplies. None but zealous Catholics are to be placed in command, or in the garrisons, since otherwise our earlier mischances might easily occur. We [illegible] warn the Parisians, as well as [illegible] remain united,

[redacted]

inal Bourbon*, fight without a leader, bear-
title, and on whom they can support them-
a want which occasions many Catholics and
rs to join the party of the enemy. All im-
men will see that this is one of the most im-
t points for France, and every one who gives
ous counsel upon this point, merely consults
wn advantage.

before, however, how just soever our cause, we
ak out in any way on this subject, we must, in
der to remove all jealousy and suspicion, treat with
e Duke of Mayenne, and make [illegible]
[illegible] It is
[illegible]
[illegible] whether he could [illegible] will [illegible] con-
[illegible] to assert the first [illegible] assured
[illegible] in any case, whatever may be [illegible] second
place of General Lieutenant shall [illegible] to his
[illegible] the Spanish [illegible] We
[illegible] rather take care that the Prince of Guise, as
soon as he is freed from prison, receive one of the
best places at his choice, as the [illegible] and services
of his father and grandfather require, both of whom
died for the Catholic religion.

* [illegible] Henry IV. [illegible] Mayenne [illegible] in captivity [illegible] The League had proclaimed him [illegible] King [illegible] had no just pretension. Tr.]

grace which God has shewn her, to be able to hold out through so long a siege, which, together with the aid partly afforded her, must, and it is to be hoped has taken from her every idle apprehension. The raising of the siege would, however, be an inadequate result of such signal exertions, for Paris might easily within a short time fall back into similar misery, and the Catholic religion ruined. It is therefore necessary to bring all things into order with the greatest zeal after the manner hereafter laid down.

In the first place we must obtain the command of all the rivers and roads, which lie within the compass of the Bearnese's operations, and must cut off his supplies. None but zealous Catholics are to be placed in command, or in the garrisons, since otherwise our earlier mischances might easily occur. We must at the same time, warn the Parisians, as well as all Catholic gentlemen and towns, to remain united, and firmly determined to exclude the Bearnese, and root out the heresies, without other object than the pursuit of the church's interests, and without delaying to look at private advantage, out of which nothing can flow but disunion and ruin. In order to meet every difficulty, we must well consider what strife and difference exists among the Catholics as to the name and notion of the King, and its consequences. The Catholics, namely, subsequent to the death of

the Cardinal Bourbon*, fight without a leader, bearing that title, and on whom they can support themselves, a want which occasions many Catholics and trimoners to join the party of the enemy. All impartial men will see that this is one of the most important points for France, and every one who gives judicious counsel upon this point, merely consults his own advantage.

Before, however, how just soever our cause, we speak out in any way on this subject, we must, in order to remove all jealousy and suspicion, treat with the Duke of Mayenne, and make representations to him in confidence in his majesty's name. If he then were to fall into doubt, in despite of all assistance, as to whether he could consider himself in condition to assert the first place, he must be assured that in any case, (whoever may be King,) the second place of General Lieutenant shall, according to his deserts, through Spanish help, fall to his lot. We must further take care that the Duke of Guise, as soon as he is freed from prison, receive one of the best places, at his choice, as the death and services of his father and grandfather require, both of whom died for the Catholic religion.

* Uncle to Henry IV. He died, May 8, 1590, in captivity at Fontenay Le Comte. The Ligue had proclaimed him King, to which title he had no just pretension. [Tr.]

As soon as this affair is regulated with Mayenne, we may proceed further in concert, but at the same time treat the people with gentleness, in order that it may take its determination, and wait patiently for greater events.

To assemble the States for the nomination of a King would be very tedious and dangerous, partly on account of the insecurity of the roads, partly on account of the so numerous claims, passions, and conflicting inclinations. A far shorter and far more direct way out, would be to carry through the election by help of the parliament and the city of Paris, which choice should be afterwards confirmed by the other towns and parliaments, as previously in the case of the Cardinal Bourbon.

In respect of the favour shewn by us, of the assistance received from us through the lapse of so many years, and the many proofs of our fast friendship, Paris would not do much for its duty, when it comes to the election, if she were to consult the King's voice and opinion. As he, moreover, is the only protector and defender of all that is sound and Catholic, they should, therefore, in discreet fashion, choose one who would be acceptable to him, for king of a country preserved by his assistance.

If they, in consequence of this language, should make any enquiry, as to whose nomination would

please his Majesty, we must at first confine ourselves to general language, and say, for example, the man who appears most capable for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, &c.

By this mode of procedure, which is much to be recommended, the Cardinal Vendome * will be excluded from all claims partly on account of his bad education from his infancy, partly because he has ranged himself not on the side of his uncle, but on that of his cousin and the heretics. On similar grounds his brothers, nay all of the House of Bourbon, must be excluded. Starting from this we may let the rights of the Infanta be asserted which accrue to her from birth and marriage; for the Salic law which is adduced against them is an empty invention, as the ablest and most learned of our controversialists perceive. In the mean time we must conduct ourselves with the greatest foresight, and proceed only little by little, in order not to spoil the affair, before the consent of the separate parties shall have been obtained.

It were best, to inform his Majesty upon the election, conditions, wishes, political relations, &c. and receive his further commands.

* Nephew to the Cardinal Bourbon. On the death of his uncle he put forward a claim to the throne as his successor, but had no means or party to support it. [Tr.]

to be insupportable towards those who humble them
selves before him, and, *vice versâ*, to honour and fea
those who shew him their teeth, and stand upo
their rights. On this occasion I must remark, tha
all Jews are incredibly excited against the Ligu
and maintain, they have always known that this re
volt against the King would take place, but that th
King, after many difficulties and dangers, woul
triumph.

Letter of Jan. 9, 1590. His Holiness is every da
less edified with the Liguists. They little know als
how to deal with him, for they ask money of him
which passes in Rome for the worst of all heresies
On this account the Pope says: "He begins to se
that the war in France will not be carried on for th
sake of religion." The Spaniards complain, and sa
[redacted] dons them, and will not turn himsel
[redacted] the like upon them
[redacted]

the throne, and would lead to the powerful and indispensable extension of your Majesty's support.

While Philip, in many ways, and after all only with an half determination, addressed himself to French affairs, Henry IV. sought to gain allies in Italy, and above all, to reconcile himself with the Pope. For better elucidation of these affairs, the despatches which his envoy, Monsieur de Maisse, forwarded from Rome and Venice will be of service *.

Letter of July 8, 1589. Your Majesty enjoys great consideration, not only here, (in Genoa,) but also throughout Italy, and even in Rome itself, and may be satisfied that there are no other means to win the friendship and respect of people here than, without regard of any one whatsoever, to be, or to become the strongest. The anger of the Pope (Sixtus V.) is presently declining, and he gives out every where that the Liguists have deceived him.

Letter of July 30, 1589. It will be extremely difficult to effect a reconciliation with the Pope at this moment, unless the King will do all and every thing he requires. This would involve him in endless absolutions, penances, and difficulties, and place the Pope's foot upon his neck: for it is the Pope's nature,

* Hurault, Sieur de Maisses Ambassades, Vol. III. No. 11—13. Fond de Serilly.

Some two months later, July 31, 1590, Henry IV writes as follows to Maisse:—The great obstacle to my winning France, is want of money. The principal cities are occupied by others, trade is prostrate, the open country is ruined; so that I have none but volunteers in my army, (who leave it when it pleases them,) Swiss, and a few foreigners, whose support entails on me the greatest difficulties, since I am obliged to pay them at the old rates, although the half only of them be forthcoming. My adversaries would be no better off than myself in respect of money, but, inasmuch as the highest officers of the crown and the greater part of the nobility are on my side, still worse, if the King of Spain did not furnish them with great sums, raise soldiers for them, and, for the present, set aside his controversies with Eng-

them, as being the weaker, and instigate the King of Spain to the same course, who, without this, does not love the Venetians.

Letter of March 15, 1590. The Spanish ambassador has delivered an autograph letter of Philip to the Pope, wherein the King declares, that he shall consider the Pope as an enemy, in case of his granting an absolution to your Majesty. The Pope was so excited at this, that he at first refused to see the ambassador, and said to him, later, "I know the shamelessness of the Spaniards, and shall know how to defend myself against it." Also, "am I of such a nature, that you can do the King of France no greater service than by treating me in such a fashion."

Letter of May 15, 1590. The Italian princes wish your Majesty to become a Catholic, and to ally yourself with them and the Pope. This, however, presents great difficulties for the moment, for which reason the Pope himself declared, it was not convenient that your Majesty should now take that step. He wished to wait in patience, and leave it to time and the direction of Providence. Pope Sixtus came to this conclusion the more readily, because he has felt how ill the Spaniards have treated him. The Venetians, also, are convinced, that their preservation and liberties depend upon the favourable position of France with regard to Spain.

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When I weigh my difficulties in a human balance, they are astoundingly heavy; but when I throw into the scale, what grace God visibly shews me, what protection he has extended to me, (from which I may well argue the justice of my cause,) I comfort myself in all my need, feel myself strengthened against every enemy, and bear in patience and hope the present inconveniencies of my situation. If I could only raise a monthly sum of 100,000 dollars,

the King of Spain should assuredly repent of the unjust attack he has directed against me.

In another letter of Aug. 15 to Maisse, I. 258, the King instructs him:—It would be the duty of the Pope, in an impartial manner, to put an end to a war which equally undermines obedience, morality, and religion. The princes of my blood, he adds, the crown officers, the gentry, and all who adhere to me, know very well that religion nowise reigns in the hearts of those who are waging war on them and me. If, also, the ban be denounced against me and my faithful followers, it can only serve to bring the ban into utter disregard, for they in their consciences are assured that they are protected against it by the command of God, which binds them to obey me as their lawful king.

As to what further concerns the pretext: that I shall never be willing to change my religion, as appears to them sufficiently plain from my delay up to this moment; they may know that no fear or temporal regard shall ever bring me to such a change. On the other hand, I am not so obstinate as not to choose it, if any one convince me of my error. As, moreover, even in private disputes, time does not expire nor is refused to those in default, how much more should it not to me, who, since my accession to the throne, have had no leisure to think on any

LETTER XXXVI.

Election and death of the Pope Urban VII.—The same of Gregory XIV.—Innocent IX. and Clement VIII.

THE death of Sixtus V. was a misfortune for Henry IV., for that Pope would, according to his disposition, have come to terms with him much sooner than with Philip. Maisse gives us the following on the

He would probably have declared himself openly against them if he had not died five days later, Aug. 27, at five in the afternoon *. Maisse relates as follows, with reference to this:—Sixtus grew so warm in his conference with the Spanish ambassador, that he told the latter, "King Philip deserved to be put under ban for the injustice he had committed towards the papal chair and the French, as well as on other grounds, and that he was a Catholic only in name.

The next day the Pope was seized, in consequence of this excitement, with a tertiary fever, of which, refusing to obey any prescription of the physicians, or to abstain, during the great heat, from wine and fruits, he died, Aug. 27. Some say he was poisoned by the Spaniards, which others deny. The Spaniards are so universally detested by princes and people in Italy, that no one will longer endure them. It is wished that a Pope should be elected, who is friendly to the liberties of Italy; but this must take place soon, before the Holy Ghost arrive in the shape of letters or pistoles from Spain.

* Report of Sept. 4, p. 238.

LETTER XXXVI.

Election and death of the Pope Urban VII.—The same of Gregory XIV.—Innocent IX. and Clement VIII.

THE death of Sixtus V. was a misfortune for Henry IV., for that Pope would, according to his disposition, have come to terms with him much sooner than with Philip. Maisse gives us the following on the election of his successor Urban, I. 272. b.*—Sept. 7, 1590. The cardinals met in conclave, and already on the following day the elder Cardinal Colonna was all but seated at once in the papal chair. Then, however, the Ursini, as ancient enemies of his house, rose to oppose his election, as did all those who did not wish for a Pope totally dependent on Spain. Hereupon such resistance arose that some of the Cardinals came to blows, and Cardinal Sforza dragged back Colonna from the Papal chair. Several

* I. 242. b.

others were then on the same day proposed, but, on the grounds above related, equally rejected; on which account the Spanish ambassadors sent a courier with a report of the circumstances to the King, and begged for further instructions. While, however, they sought in this manner for the Holy Ghost in Spain, the Cardinals of the party Montalto and of the Grand Duke, who had not yet spoken out, determined to name a Pope. Thus was the Cardinal Marcello Castagni elected on the 15th of this month. He is the son of a Genoese merchant, of good repute and easy to deal with. Some think he will be entirely on the Spanish side, as he was long Nuncio in that country; held the Prince of Spain at his baptism in the name of Pope Gregory XIII., and received many favours from the King. On the other hand, some think that he will, as an Italian, and supported by all the princes of Italy, maintain the dignity and honour of his country, and labour more for the good and repose of Christendom than for the greatness of Spain. The only thing which was found fault with before his elevation, was the great number of his dissolute and restless relations, as well as the supposed enmity between him and the Cardinal Montalto, attributed to the fact, that the deceased Pope had caused some of Marcello's relations to be executed.

Urban VII., however, died as early as September 27, 1590, and was succeeded December 5, by Gregory XIV., of whom Maisse writes:—He is an easy man and of little effect*. The Spaniards have persuaded him, through his physicians, that in order to preserve his health, he must abstain from all business. Thus every thing passes through the hands of his nephew the Cardinal Sfondrate, who is totally dependent on the Spaniard.

His brother, the Count Sfondrate, went, May 12, 1591, with all his officers, who are as brave as himself†, to confession and communion, swore in full church, and pledged himself to God upon his sword, which never came out of its sheath, that he would go to France with 50,000 men, would by the month of October deliver the King of France alive or dead in Rome, and cut to pieces all his adherents. So great is the impudence of this man, who but three months since wanted bread to eat, and has never seen a sword drawn. The following day the Pope was to say mass, bless the sword and banners, bestow the commander's staff, &c.‡ Within ten months, (it proceeds in another page,) the Pope has run through

* Homme facile et de peu d'effet. Letter of May 18, 1591. Maisse II. p. 16.

† P. 23, 34, 143.

‡ P. 144.

three millions of gold, no one knows how. He died October 1, 1591, of a disorder so extraordinary and incredible, that one cannot imagine how so weak a body could so long have held out against it *. It began with a fever and disorder in the liver, hereupon he lost blood through the nose, mouth and other apertures of his body, his flesh turned black, and emitted an insupportable stench, boils rose up in various places, and so many lice shewed themselves between the skin and the flesh, that he had not a moment's repose.

All the remedies employed proved useless; they gave him, for instance, gold, pearls and other strengthening things in his drink; they wrapped him in the carcase of a sheep, and of a newly killed horse. The Spaniards gave themselves the greatest trouble to preserve him, but God is mightier than they.

Upon his successor, Innocent IX., Maisse says †, he is a man of instruction, bold and determined, has ordered that no nephew of a Pope shall draw an income of more than 12,000 dollars, and has forbidden his own to come to Rome. The greater number of the Cardinals are devoted to Spain, receive pensions from it, and name the members of all the congrega-

* Report of October 20, 1591. Maisse II. p. 157. Others place his death at October 15.

† Ditto of November 11, 1591. II. 145.

tions, even those which meet upon French affairs. The Pope is minded to redress these evils.

Innocent died in the meantime within two months of his accession, and was succeeded by Clement VIII. His election (according to Maisse) took place * against the will and hope of the Spaniards, for he was not included in their list of names proposed, nay, was excluded from it by name. It was their view either to procure the election of one of their own dependents, or to protract the conclave, but they were outwitted in both projects. The election is here ascribed to the Holy Ghost, for the elected was neither one of those put forward, nor did he make claim to the chair on his own part. He comes of the distinguished Florentine family, the Alodrandini, is 56 years of age, passes for a man of integrity, and obtained the cardinal's hat for his merit. He is by disposition cold, slow of determination, and so avaricious, that the Spaniards will not, it is said, find in him a man who will enter into their plans, and grow very warm on the strength of their promises. Wherever he has had to do, he has passed for an open and incorruptible man. All servants and adherents of your Majesty rejoice in the favourable prospect, which excites, on the contrary, the dissatisfaction

* Maisse II. 224.

of the Spaniards. The Pope's father was banished from Florence, and his goods confiscated; he has not chosen to return there with his children, although the reigning Grand Duke has offered him the restoration of what he had lost.

The above hopes of the French party were not however fulfilled; at least Maisse writes, October 4, 1592:—Every one complains that the King of Spain postpones the welfare and safety of Christendom to his own ambition, and is the cause of all the present disturbances and differences, instead of satisfying himself with what comes to him, and turning his power against the Turks. The like difficulties are raised on the subject of the Pope, who sees so much calamity in Christendom, without troubling himself about it, and who, instead of uniting all sovereigns against the infidels, passes his time in reforming the monks and prostitutes at Rome. He even enters the cells of the former, nay, visits them in their beds, and would fain they should all live as brothers in full equality and community, which however will seem insupportable to them, accustomed as they are to live after their own pleasure, and in all convenience.

LETTER XXXVII.

The Sixteen in Paris.—Correspondence of the Duke of Parma, and the Ambassador Ibarra with Philip II.—Mayenne and Guise.—Bellievre to Jeannin.—States assembly and election of a King.

ALTHOUGH the attitude of the Pope with respect to Henry IV. was in every respect important, yet the contest was to be decided in France, and Philip II. did not blush to employ scandalous means and scandalous agents for his purpose. His restless and vehement ambassador, Diego Ibarra *, lent himself willingly to this, while the Duke of Parma was seldom agreed with them upon it. The correspondence of these two with Philip II. gives a nearer insight into these matters.

The Sixteen † who had appropriated all power in Paris, and had caused the murder of the President

* Renmant, brouillon. Boderie Depesches, 42, p. 233.

† In September 1591, the Sixteen write to Philip, praise him in all ways, &c. Dupuy, Vol. 317.

Brisson*, found in the Spanish ambassador a warm protector and defender. Referring to this, Parma writes, December 18, 1591, to Philip II.† Don Diego and Ibarra went to meet the Duke of Mayenne, and sought to persuade him to be silent as to the murder of Brisson, and not to punish its authors. As, however, the Duke believed that his reputation

* Brisson was arrested in the street by order of the Sixteen, and with two other lawyers hanged from the window of the Council Chamber of the Petit Chatelet. The history of France previous to 1792 presents few acts of greater atrocity. In addition to the members of the Sixteen executed by Mayenne, as mentioned in the text, viz. Louchard, Emmenet, Ameline and Auroux, four other subordinate agents of the crime were executed in 1594, after the re-establishment of Henry IV. Among these was the executioner, J. Rouzeau, who had officiated at the murder, and was condemned rather on the charge of selling the bodies, an hard bargain to the relations, than for the act itself. He had in fact refused as long as possible to officiate. He was also employed to hang the four Liguists in a court of the Louvre, and had an hard struggle with Louchard, who knocked him and his assistant down. The clemency of Henry, from which these wretches were excluded, spared the survivors of the Sixteen. What a picture does the transaction present of Philip's policy. Mayenne acted with spirit, but with great dissimulation, his power being limited, and the Spanish troops keeping him in check. [Tr.]

† Dupuy, Vol. 44.

would suffer by it, the evil increase, and an end be put to all obedience, he made a shew as though he would consider upon it, but on the 4th of December, caused four of the malefactors to be hanged*. The French much approve this resolution, as tending to prevent greater crimes and enormities. Ibarra on the contrary is dissatisfied, and carps at these executions, as falling upon good Catholics and weakening the party.

Parma complains of dissension among the confederates, great disorders, deficiency of power, and the discontent of France at all of it. Ibarra himself writes, nevertheless, two days later, (December 20, 1591,) to Philip. The Spanish garrisons must be strengthened, that the party of the trimmers (Politiques) and Mayenne's French garrisons may not, in case of a rising, overpower the Catholics. Upon the proceedings relating to a new election of a King, he writes, January 12, 1592, Mayenne is of opinion, we may for once break through the Salic law, it being premised that the Infanta Clara Eugenia marry within a year, according to the counsel of the princes, officers of the Crown, and States. To this end, negociations must be entered into with Guise, Nemours, Lorraine and other princes, the governors

* Philippe de Bec Journal Bibl. Roy. 10398. Colbert 3974.

of princes, gentry, and officers. These must be satisfied, rewarded with possessions in France, and money must be applied from other sources in presents. Ibarra estimates the sum required at from six to eight millions, submits all further measures to the King's private consideration, and proceeds:—Mayenne, the princes, and nobles strive to protract every thing, in order to gain the more from your Majesty, nor will Mayenne convene the States, since the election of a King would put an end to his position. The Duke is generally so intent upon his own advantage that he prefers it to every thing else. Between him and his nephew Guise is much jealousy, and little union. I do what I can to reconcile them.

The Princes (despatch of January 14, 1592) propose that no foreign garrisons shall remain in France. (Which certainly was somewhat at variance with Ibarra's proposal for strengthening them.) They still treat the convocation of the States as a subordinate matter, and maintain, that the latter would approve all their resolutions, on which they argue that the resolutions should take precedence of the convocation.

For the removal of many difficulties the Duke of Parma had at last an interview with Guise and his mother, both of whom complained of want of money,

Why should we admit the Spaniard? He who calls to his aid a stronger than himself becomes his slave, and for my part I hold the loss of freedom for the greatest calamity upon earth. As to what concerns the choice of a king by the States, upon which the Liguists so much rely, I think their party will weaken itself by that measure, since no one will obey a person whom he has before looked upon as his equal. Out of such jealousy so much dissension may arise, that they will, perhaps, curse the hour when they first spoke of such an election. I say still further, instead of withdrawing thereby the nobility from King Henry, these will only attach themselves to him all the faster, and prize his service the higher. The sufferings of France are so great that instead of perpetuating the war by such an election, the true interest of the Ligue, of Spain, and the Pope, consists in making a good peace with Henry IV.

of the edict of Nantes. After the murder of Henry, he was entrusted by Mary of Medicis with the administration of the finances. Though much thwarted by her Italian advisers, and once removed by the intrigues of the Marechale D'Ancre, he received his post and retained it till his death in 1622. When Henry IV. first made his advances to this honest opponent, Jeannin expressed his surprise at the notice thus taken of a "vieux Ligueur." Henry replied, "J'ai toujours couru aprez les gens de bien et je m'en suis bien trouvé." [Tr.]

LETTER XXXVIII.

States assembly of 1593.—Circular of Mayenne.—Election.—Upon the deliberations and opposed votes.—Feria and the Legate.—Negociations with Henry IV.—Delays and complaints.—Proposals of the Spaniards.—Approximation between the Parliament and the Princes.—The Infanta.—The Salic law.—New proposals of the Spaniards.—The armistice.—The Parliament for the Salic law.—Contentions.—Henry IV.'s conversion.—New form of oath.—Termination of the States assembly.—Boucher's preaching.—Elizabeth to Henry IV. on his change of religion.—Feria to Parma.—Henry IV. to Luxemburgh and Montmorency.—Peace, war, relations with the Parliaments.—Hughenots.—Elizabeth, Rome.—Sultan Amurath to Henry IV.

The convocation of the States wished for by some, feared by others, was no longer to be avoided. Its history is so remarkable, partly on its own account, partly with reference to what happened in later times, that it will not be unwelcome to you, if I communicate something in detail to you on the sub-

ject. The richest information is afforded by the records of the proceedings and protocols which have hitherto by no means been sufficiently made use of*.

January 12, 1593. The Duke of Mayenne issued a summons for the election, to the end that the Convention might preserve the holy religion, and liberate the kingdom from all calamities and sufferings. In pursuance of this, the provost of the merchants and the Echevins of Paris held a general assembly in the great hall of the Hotel de Ville. The councils of the quarters and four delegates from each quarter, were taken into consultation, viz.—two royal officers and two citizens of note from each,—the high courts of justice, and colleges were also convened, the clergy, and the communes, in order to proceed and choose their deputies by majority of voices.

The proceeding is not further particularized. For Paris they had chosen six of the clergy, two of the nobility, eleven of the Parliament and the tiers état. In the city, council objections were raised to these

* Procès verbal des propositions et deliberations du tiers état en l'assemblée tenue à Paris sous le nom des trois états. 1593, Bibl. Roy. MSS. 280. 2 vols. folio. Procès verbal du Clergé, Dupuy, 582. Do. de la noblesse. Dupuy, 650. Sur les états generaux, Dupuy, 661.

elections as having taken place during the troubles*. The Sixteen and their friends defended themselves, and the Spanish minister declared, that in case of their being annulled, he would withdraw the Spanish forces. Upon this they left the first elected persons in their places, but held a second and a third election which weakened the effect of the former.

However little particular this account may be, it is plain from it that many things, such as were now for the first time subjects of question, for example, the number of deputies, were not at that time positively arranged.

There appeared in the assembly 47 of the clergy, 26 of the nobility, and 48 of the tiers état. The number of the deputies was thus very small. From many provinces no deputy, or one for only one of the orders appeared, and no rule was laid down for the regulation of the proportions between the orders.

On the 26th January, Mayenne opened the assembly at a moment when the elections in many districts were not terminated, when no one was present on the part of the nobles of Paris, and no veri-

* Dupuy 661. February 17, the provost of the merchants with the Echevins gave a great feast to all the deputies of the tiers état. Laboureur in Dupuy, 582.

fication of the powers had taken place. It was not till even four weeks later, on February 29, that 89 of the deputies had taken their seats.

The deputies of the three orders assembled for general business in one room, for particular discussions; each order had its separate locality. There were usually three sittings in the week. The Legate, Philip Sega, was allowed entrance for the purpose of blessing the proceedings, but he was denied a voice for consultation or decision. The Legate spoke Latin. Mayenne answered in French.

The Cardinal Pellevé * was chosen president of the clerical order, as also the Archbishop of Lyons, Espinal; De La Nau and Deperry, presidents of the nobility; L'Huillier, provost of the merchants in Paris, as president of the tiers état. It was settled that all propositions made in one chamber should be communicated to the others, in order, where possible, that they might be discussed cotemporaneously. No

* A turbulent Ligueur, raised by Henry II. to the bishoprick of Amiens, and made Cardinal by Pius V. in 1560, in reward for his opposition to the liberties of the Gallican church at the Council of Trent. He was one of twenty-five cardinals who subscribed to the bull of Sixtus V., by which the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were excommunicated. He was chief of the Council of the Ligue. [Tr.]

deputy was to absent himself without permission of the three chambers.

One of the most important and most contested questions related to the manner and right of voting. Whether, namely, they should vote according to provinces or offices, (bailliages,) and whether an office could be admitted to represent a province when the deputies of the other offices were not included. March 10th. The clergy resolved, that a bailliage represented the province in the default of the others. Deputies of the nobles, dissatisfied with this, appeared in the assembly of the third estate, and said, that in their chamber was a single nobleman from one province who claimed to vote for that whole province, in which were several bailliages *. The matter was the more discussed (says our reporter) as the numerous deputies of the Isle of France and Paris, as the seven bailliages of Burgundy, had only one voice. It was settled, at last, they should vote by provinces, which they would adhere to constantly in things of obvious decision, until they should come to things of consequence.

This obscure narration of Laboureur derives some, but not full, elucidation from other protocols of the

* Laboureur deputé du tiers état de ce qui c'est passé aux états de 1593. Dupuy, 582.

The

consulted upon it. They answered: "We must insist on our first objection, and cannot accept for judges those who are parties concerned. Neither is it reasonable, that the deputies of a town or bailliage should have as great a voice as the deputies of an entire province, which includes many bailliages."

In spite of these pour parlers no resolution was arrived at, and, as late as June 28, Monsieur Langlois represented, that, before any further deliberations should take place, this question must be settled. We only find this much; that two opposed voices for one bailliage were not counted, and that they settled, that what was adopted by two orders should pass for all three.

Meanwhile arrived a new Spanish plenipotentiary, the Duke of Feria, and he was welcomed by a deputation of the three orders. March 15, the Bishop of Senlis spoke in French, Feria replied in Spanish, dwelling on the immortal glory which they would acquire by their defence of religion, on Philip's friendship, and his desire to treat with them confidentially. They allowed that he should be heard in a general assembly of the three orders, and that he should be replied to in French. A proposal of the nobles and clergy that the sovereign courts should be invited thereto, was found inexpedient by the third estate. It was rejoined, that the courts

had been admitted at the reception of the Legate, and that, if this were now omitted, both they and Feria would be offended. As the third estate insisted on their objection, it was determined, on the 1st of April, that the courts should be invited, not by the orders, but by Mayenne and his council, providing it appeared to them advisable.

April 2. Feria was received by twelve deputies of the three orders in the middle of the great staircase. He spoke and the Cardinal Pellevé answered in Latin. Philip, in his letters, glorified himself for the disinterested services he had rendered to the French, and declared distinctly; the States ought not to separate without having chosen a Catholic king, as the time demanded.

Already, long before, Jan. 27, the Catholics of the King's party had forwarded proposals for an understanding and union to the States, upon which the Cardinal Pellevé proposed, that a copy should be sent to the Sorbonne to be examined as to whether there was any heresy in the articles. That also ten or twelve eminent persons, doctors in theology, and in both codes, should be named to institute inquiries against those who should speak against religion. The States would proceed according to the results, and the people must be kept in obedience. This inquisition appears, however, not to have come into

activity; and as little could they carry through the unconditional acceptance of the articles of the Council of Trent, many of them being in contravention of the royal authority, the laws, decisions of parliament, &c. Finally, the propositions of the clergy, as to the mode and fashion after which they should (or rather should not) negociate with Henry IV., found so little assent from the third estate, that the King was able to draw favourable conclusions as to the future, and took the opportunity to exhibit his claims in a very substantial shape.

With this the spiritual chamber was very ill content, so that a protocol of the sitting of the third estate, May 17, runs: It is represented, that the Cardinal Pellevé * is accustomed to treat the deputies sent to the clergy, against all reason and proper respect, with hard language, which must cease; as, otherwise, we will not for the future send any more deputies thither. The clergy replied, the Cardinal was old, and the members of their chamber tolerated him on account of his years and dignity,

* Yet the Cardinal Pellevé, at an earlier stage of the proceedings, had been supposed to favour the violent and factious party in the third estate, in opposing the admission of the sovereign courts, which was advocated then, and, as will be seen afterwards, by Mayenne. Etoile Journal du regne d' Henri IV. Vol. 1. p. 283.

although they often found his manners and conduct very inconvenient. The third estate would do well to act with the same forbearance, that the Cardinal had taken his fold like camlet (son pli).

Heavier were the complaints which the third estate issued of the unprofitable loss of time, and that nothing was done. Protocol of May 25. The deputies suffer extremely from the slowness with which the public affairs are carried on. It is a scandal, that in four months, no affair has been transacted, and no alleviation been devised for the sufferings of the provinces, while the expenses of their useless stay at Paris are enormous. This causes such disgust, that almost all would have returned home, if all Christendom did not expect so much, with God's help, from this assembly. Just reproach would, however, attach to those who seek to dissolve the assembly, not to those who practise patience, and bear with the complaints of their provinces.

These remonstrances, and similar ones which proceeded from the nobles' chamber, at last induced the Duke of Mayenne to lay before them the Spanish proposals, with the remark, that he had various grounds for postponing this communication. Feria's declaration ran: Philip II. will give money, aid, troops, &c., on condition that the Infanta shall be incontinently proclaimed Queen.

Each chamber deliberated for itself on this proposition; and several persons, in the hope of bringing it more easily to bear, hit upon the idea, of allowing the sovereign courts to take part in the deliberations with a deciding vote. Hereupon it was answered, particularly by the third estate, France has been ever administered by three members and three estates, nor has ever chosen to adjoin a fourth, and thus create a monstrosity. We should not, on account of the misery of the present century, inflict injury on our rights and liberties; for, although our state presents a mangled aspect, we should bestir ourselves to restore it as far as possible to its ancient complexion and former splendour, in order to shew our neighbours that we, despite of all our misery and all our degradation, yet have not buried the fundamental laws of the kingdom, deprived of which, we no longer deserve the name of Frenchmen.

Mayenne replied: Under the great importance of the matter on account of which the assembly is convened, I have thought it useful and reasonable to call together equally the parliaments, which, by their administration of the law, enjoy so much consideration in the country. As to what concerns the forms of their adjunction and their power of objection, I cannot take upon me to decide, it being by no means

within my functions to do so, but will consult my council. This consultation took place, and the President, Jeannin, said, the parliaments are called in to this important deliberation upon no slender or defective grounds. They represent, through their administration of the law, the King, who never dies; they enjoy great consideration in the realm, and if their counsel has heretofore been called for upon the reform of public justice, then with equal right do they act in the present matter. Since these high authorities have thus formed ever a part of the state, we should be peculiarly, at this moment, ill advised to raise unreasonable difficulties, when we must wish that all men of sense and integrity were collected, in order to labour with us on this thorny occasion.

loose one of the bodies of the States of the realm, for which reasons they besought the Duke to find some other solution of the difficulty.

To these complaints others were appended upon e fruitless protraction of the proceedings, through ich, most of the deputies were reduced to such ssities, that they had no longer the means of istence. Jeannin, and the other members of the 's council now started a proposition, that May- should, after the three orders had voted, con- he parliament and the council, not for the pur- of bringing a new deciding voice to bear, but o hear their advice. Although this was agreed e plan of forming a fourth chamber was still ined, only that it should be formed with princes, &c. selected by Mayenne *. The clergy voted, he princes could not form a separate body, but take their places in the nobles' chamber with erating voices. The nobles were of opinion that ons chosen by Mayenne should be associated h the different orders, spiritual persons with the ergy, princes with the nobles, members of the par- iaments with the third estate.

Mayenne shewed himself dissatisfied with these discussions, and repeated that a convocation of all

* Noblesse, Mai 24, Clergé, Mai 30.

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It was replied that the Assembly of that year was so little numerous, that it could hardly be called a States' Assembly. The president of the parliament of that day, St. André, also began his speech with thanks to the King, for having suffered them to vote separately, in order to shew that it was something quite extraordinary. To cause the third estate to come after the Parliament, was to separate and cut

loose one of the bodies of the States of the realm, for which reasons they besought the Duke to find some other solution of the difficulty.

To these complaints others were appended upon the fruitless protraction of the proceedings, through which, most of the deputies were reduced to such necessities, that they had no longer the means of subsistence. Jeannin, and the other members of the Duke's council now started a proposition, that Mayenne should, after the three orders had voted, consult the parliament and the council, not for the purpose of bringing a new deciding voice to bear, but only to hear their advice. Although this was agreed to, the plan of forming a fourth chamber was still entertained, only that it should be formed with princes, dukes, &c. selected by Mayenne *. The clergy voted, that the princes could not form a separate body, but might take their places in the nobles' chamber with deliberating voices. The nobles were of opinion that persons chosen by Mayenne should be associated with the different orders, spiritual persons with the clergy, princes with the nobles, members of the parliaments with the third estate.

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* Noblesse, Mai 24, Clergé, Mai 30.

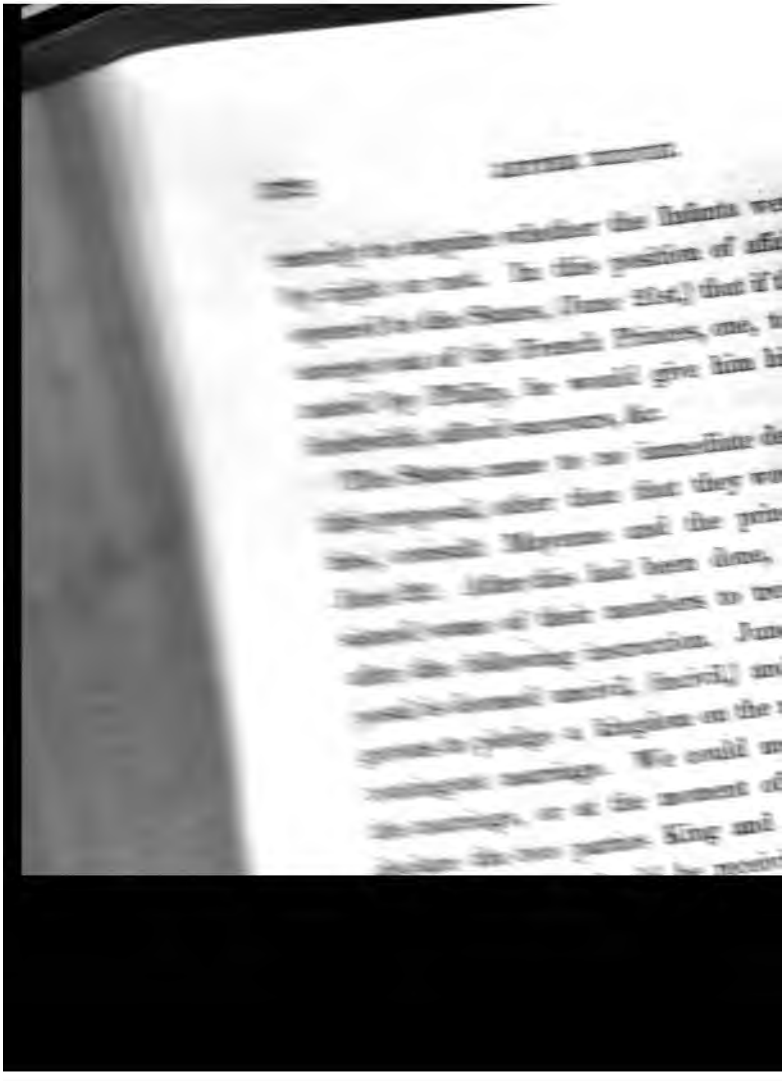
princes, prelates, crown officers, governors, parliaments, &c. appeared to him advisable at this juncture, since it was by no means the only object to raise objections and complaints, for which the three orders, as usually convened, were quite sufficient. He then proceeded, in the sitting of June 1. "I willingly set my life to hazard for so great a concern, as I can bequeath no greater honour to my posterity than by so doing, nor find a more honourable grave. My conscience is pure, so that no reproach can be thrown out or substantiated against my conduct secret or open, that I have ever done an act or entertained a proposition which contained any thing tending to lower or prejudice the state. Having once been honoured so far as to be appointed General Lieutenant of the realm, I shall know how to maintain my dignity, even at the peril of my life. Herein the princes of my house have the same interest, and have like myself staked on it their lives and properties. In the field they have been honoured with the highest commands, because they have been the first in every danger; and now when we are talking of terminating our dissensions and party differences, rank and situation are refused them, in an insupportable fashion.

"I also wish, that the consultations may come to an end, and the delay is no fault of mine. I lament the pressure upon the deputies, but find myself in my

own person in equal and greater need: I shall, however, with help of my friends seek to procure some alleviation."

June 11. The Spanish ambassadors sought to establish more certainly the claims of the Infanta; but mutual jealousy, hope of Henry's conversion, &c. excited in many bosoms the wish to gain time, or to lose it, and their counsel ran:—They must first communicate with the other orders, hear the councils, prepare themselves for receiving the Holy Spirit, take the Sacrament, order processions, &c. Finally, it was determined, that previous to any acknowledgement of the Infanta's claim, Feria should ask the King of Spain, whether he were minded to marry her to a French prince. Yet can such a declaration be the foundation of no pre-judgment, nor can it be concluded that we must therefore necessarily declare the Infanta Queen. It remains on the contrary open to us to proceed to the choice of a King, and to be guided by circumstances in the proceeding.

The proposal for imparting all this to the Legate passed; but only on the condition that it should not take place for the purpose of following his counsel, in anything in which his advice might differ from that of the third estate. In order somewhat to satisfy the Legate, Mayenne caused 8000 dollars to be secured to him; as, however, this payment was long delayed, they



tics to the bosom of the Church, loves rectitude and upright people, knows many languages, speaks, or at least understands French, takes pains to advance himself therein, and knows how so to conduct himself that I am satisfied he will in a short time become as good a Frenchman as any of yourselves. He can command the aid of his relations, will perhaps be Emperor, is heir to the Austrian States, and will put an end to all disputes with Germany. You will tell me, he was not born in France, and this I grant, but it is not contrary to your laws or customs to have a German King. Kings have reigned in France who came from beyond the frontier, and in the histories written by French authors themselves, you will find that the Archduke by his early origin is a Frenchman, and that through Mary of Burgundy he possesses a good and fair portion of that province. It is, moreover, nothing new that the States, on great emergencies, should avail themselves of foreign kings, and find their profit in so doing. It will also appear on careful enquiry, that, for a State distracted with disunion, party and heresy, (as France is,) nothing can be more advantageous, than to place at its head a prince altogether unfettered and free from passion, who will employ, esteem, and promote every man according to his virtues and deserts, and make no

concession which can injure religion or the public good.

Instead of bringing this proposal expressly into discussion the next day, the nobles pressed for an armistice with the Catholics of the King's party; the clergy opposed it, and the third estate submitted their decision privately to the Duke of Mayenne. He answered, "I may do nothing contrary to your views, I cannot, however, carry on the war with advantage, and am just as little inclined to speak of an armistice, so soon as I am provided with the means of war." Thus one body banded the final determination to another, until the third estate declared distinctly for the armistice, and the clergy required Mayenne to state his reasons. The Duke declined, but declared that if each of the orders would depute to him three or four of their body, he would expose his reasons. This, rejoined the third estate, was not necessary, they relied upon him. Now, however, the Legate raised difficulties, and maintained that the Spaniards must be heard upon it, which put the Duke into such a passion, that he said, "When I accepted my post, I possessed from 3 to 400,000 dollars. I have now two millions of debt, and deserve regard as well as another, when the question is raised of what is to be done." The Legate, two

orders, and the council then coalesced, and the armistice was determined upon.

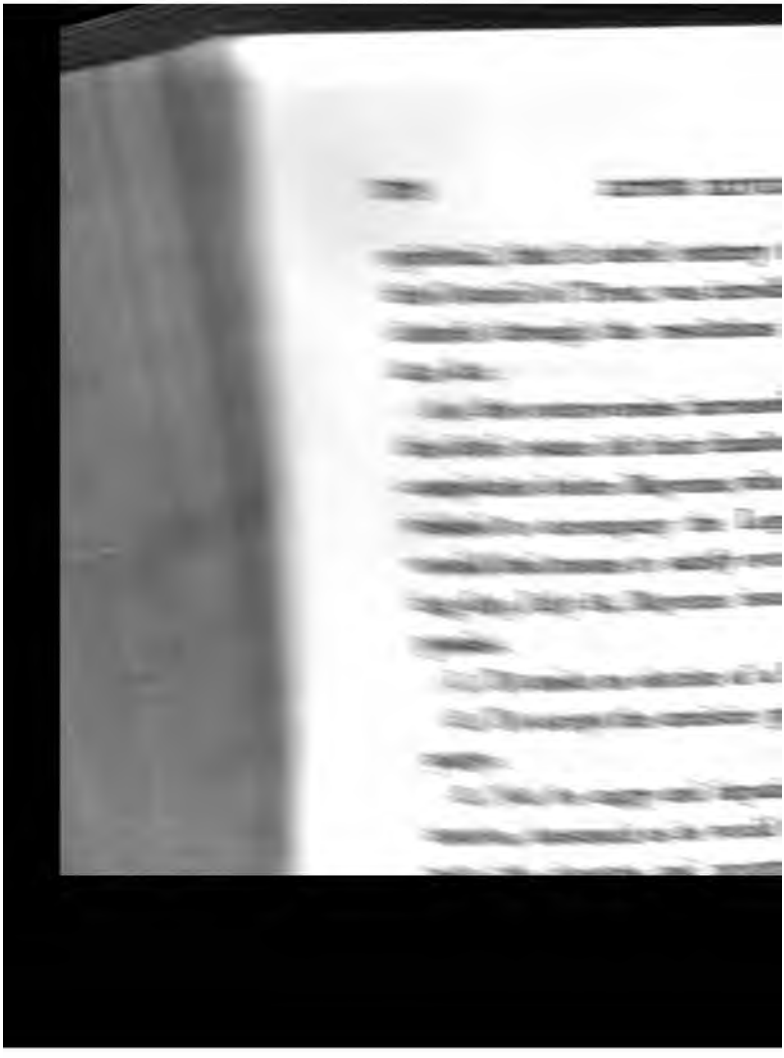
Meanwhile, Feria had pressed for an answer, but none came, the parties being occupied with other matters. At last, June 18, the clergy deferred the whole matter to the Duke and the Princes. The nobles declared it was impossible to occupy themselves on two subjects at once, and that the question of the armistice must take precedence. The third estate finally did nothing further than to request the Duke and the Princes to give their opinion upon the proposals of the clergy. Mayenne answered, June 19, the matter was of great importance, and well deserving that—they should think upon it! Later, he added, that a report was spread in the city of a declaration of the Spanish ambassador, to the effect, that if a French prince were chosen, Philip would refuse him the hand of the Infanta. Hereupon, the orders took courage, and answered Feria;—he must excuse them if they did not choose the archduke, for that choice would be at variance with the laws of France, and exceed their powers; he was a foreigner, &c.

The princes were much satisfied with this declaration, but as it now came to the choice of another, many deputies maintained, that neither did their powers extend so far, and it was another thing

partly from their opinion that it would answer no purpose. Not terrified by their first rejection, Marillac insisted on his views, and added; "You are all, as officers of the crown, bound in duty to do something in a matter of such concern, you must at all events somehow evince to posterity, that you never approved that which is about to be done by violence."

After repeating this foundation of his argument, he procured the transmission of the suggested message to the head chamber of the parliament, which received on the 25th an instruction from Mayenne, to proceed no further in the affair. But the chamber, not conceiving him justified in this instruction, and not receiving from him further advices, renewed

a marriage for the Infanta before the choice of a King, and in the non-existence of a kingdom. Upon which the States deputies proposed, that Mayenne and the other princes might arrange the marriage in Spain, where, in that case, after full agreement, Clara Eugenia and her husband might be proclaimed King and Queen. The Spaniards believed their powers insufficient to authorize their acceptance of this proposal, which also displeased the Duke and his council. The latter opened,—that it would be advisable, without speaking further of the marriage or kingdom, to treat upon the conditions and other points of the subject, by which the Spaniards would be suddenly thrown back upon the final result of the whole question. They appeared, June 28, once more in the States assembly, in order to unfold their views and reasons. They prayed for a favourable answer, and promised in that case their best exertions for favourable marriage conditions, &c. Before we fulfil this promise, (said they,) we cannot be refused what in the nature of things is our due, otherwise we should be treating for the sale of a house, without knowing whether there be any one to buy. To treat of the conditions of a marriage, before it is generally settled, would be to put the plough before the oxen, and a frivolous thing. Within four hours after the States shall have come to a decision, we



only on condition that the States were not pledged by it, but retained full liberty to vote and resolve for the interests of the State and of religion, according to circumstances. The majority, however, considered the above answer sufficient without the addition.

July 5th. The Spaniards answered: If it be determined not to nominate a King, for the prevention of the danger accruing from the Prince of Bearne, for the security of religion, and the extrication of the State from its miseries, then all the rest is cast upon the waters. Yet would they, till further orders from their sovereign, not cease to afford their assistance. 1st. As long as no armistice were concluded. 2nd. If the decision of the parliaments were cancelled, which came too near their own dignity.

Upon this decision for the maintenance of the Salic law, I have found the following in an unprinted record *:—June 23. Monsieur de Marillac made the first proposal in the Chambre des Enquetes to propose to the great chamber a meeting of all the chambers, to oppose the repeal of the Salic law. This motion struck the majority with astonishment, not as disapproving it, but partly from fear, (for it was beyond doubt, a matter of peril to their lives,)

* Relation de ce qui se passa sur la manutention de la loi Salique. Dupuy 548.

importance without conference with myself. Subsequent attempts of the Duke to alter the determination of the President and the council, were fruitless, although very warm language passed between them. He then wished to annul the decision, but abandoned his purpose, on finding that many persons of note supported it, and that the members of the parliaments, their zeal once raised, had sworn rather to lose their lives than shrink from their resolution.

In the Assembly little or nothing was done at this time. July 23, however, the deputies of the three orders sent a message to Mayenne that they were wearied out, and begged him to allow of their departure to their homes. The President of the nobles' chamber had, as also several others, made their escape without question or leave taking. The Cardinal Pellevé, out of discontent, determined to do the same, the Legate had already left the city, and the clergy began to discuss whether they were not obliged to follow him as head of their order. Huillier, president of the third estate, remarked on the contrary, that the Assembly had only to treat of temporal matters, and recognized no head but the King, or in this case the Duke. The deputies of the clergy answered to this in sharp language, that the third estate might confine itself to temporal matters to the exclusion of

against religion, or for heretics, not to absent themselves without Mayenne's permission, and either to return when and whither he should choose, or to acknowledge the acts of those who should be present.

After long contest and much alteration they agreed upon a new form of oath, August 4 and 5. This, however, appearing to the partizans of Henry IV. insulting to them, and fear arising that it might therefore lead to a rupture of the armistice, Mayenne found himself compelled, in his own person, to propose a third form, which was again partially altered. With this the clergy shewed themselves highly dissatisfied, and declared, If the King of Navarre were a good Catholic, he might have sworn to the first oath. Mayenne hereupon devised a fourth formulary, which was accepted, in which, however, nothing was men-

Thus, on the 27th, universal discontent and disunion broke out *, but the following day Henry IV. came over to the Catholic religion in the presence of the Cardinal of Bourbon, one archbishop, ten bishops, many abbots, deans, and doctors, &c. By this a great change took place to his advantage, although the clergy complained, July 30, to the third estate:—

It is now necessary, if ever, to persist in resisting heresy, when one beholds an open hypocrisy, or rather a mummery and juggle carried on against the honour of God, all piety and religion. On this account we pray, 1st, that the articles of the Council of Trent may be accepted. 2d. That the Legate may be moved to remain in Paris. The second point was conceded, but with respect to the first, a courteous answer, but one so conditional and evasive was returned, that nothing came of it. The armistice was, on the contrary, published on the 1st of August. On the 2nd, nearly all the deputies of the third estate took their departure, and the nobles declared they would depart even if permission were refused them. In this emergency, Mayenne, on the following day, demanded that all should take a new oath, grounded in substance on the former oath of union. It bound them further to do nothing

* Philippe de Bec Journal.

against religion, or for heretics, not to absent themselves without Mayenne's permission, and either to return when and whither he should choose, or to acknowledge the acts of those who should be present.

After long contest and much alteration they agreed upon a new form of oath, August 4 and 5. This, however, appearing to the partizans of Henry IV. insulting to them, and fear arising that it might therefore lead to a rupture of the armistice, Mayenne found himself compelled, in his own person, to propose a third form, which was again partially altered. With this the clergy shewed themselves highly dissatisfied, and declared, If the King of Navarre were a good Catholic, he might have sworn to the first oath. Mayenne hereupon devised a fourth formulary, which was accepted, in which, however, nothing was mentioned of the union, the Council of Trent, &c.

Meanwhile the majority of the deputies had absented themselves, and at the sittings little else occurred than the hearing mass, or ineffectual discussions upon relieving the wretched people who were miserably tyrannized over by the governors and officers.

The last protocol of the sittings of the third estate is of December 2, 1593, in which the envoys from the clergy complain that the Assembly is everywhere despised in Paris, and that no help is to be got for it.

To this was added the intelligence that Mayenne intended leaving the city, upon which they addressed the Legate, the Duke of Feria and Mayenne, to learn what was to become of them, and how they might escape utterly sinking under need and weakness. We do not observe that this complaint had any result, the assembly rather appears to have come to an end without any formal decision.

In any case all the expectations had failed, which the Spaniards and zealous Liguists had founded upon this assembly. They did not, however, forego their plans, but sought especially to inflame the people through the clergy, such as Boucher and his like. The following passages are characteristic of the language and sermons of Boucher*. It is nothing new in the church to conclude a bond or ligue; the saints have done as much. St. Michael, for example, in heaven against the confederacy of Lucifer and his angels, and on earth it is of godly right, since God said to the serpent, "I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between her seed and your seed." The heretics are the seed of the devil, the Catholics the seed of the Church, and pledged to God to unite against the others. In like manner the people of God formed a ligue to

* Fragmens des discours de Boucher, Dupuy, 559.

That Henry and Elizabeth in spite of passing controversies remained upon good terms, I shall hereafter bring fresh proofs to shew. A letter may also find its place here to shew the turn which the relations of France to Spain took at this period. August 27, 1594, the Duke of Feria writes to the Duke of Parma*:—I despair of a good result. For on the one hand, I am of opinion that we should keep up the party divisions as well as our own intelligences in France, and must spare no means to increase the reputation of our power; if, however, the man who there conducts affairs (Mayenne) do not throw himself entirely into the arms of his majesty, and take a firm resolution in the matter, in which we can trust to none but him, it is not probable that events can turn out favourably for us.

upon his conversion*. I communicate it in its own language, on account of its characteristic originality.

Ha quelles douleurs, quels regrets et gemissements je sentis en mon âme par le son de telles nouvelles que l'ambassadeur Morlas m'a apportées. Mon Dieu, est il possible, qu' aucun mondain respect dut effacer la terreur dont la crainte divine menace? Pouvons nous par raison attendre une bonne suite d'un acte si inique? Celui qui vous a maintenu et conservé pouvez vous imaginer qu' il vous laisse seul dans un si grand besoin? Oh qu'il est dangereux de mal faire, pour en esperer du bien. Encore veux je croire que plus saine inspiration vous adviendra; cependant je ne cesserai de vous mettre au premier rang de mes devotions a ce que les mains d'Esau ne gatent les benedictions de Jacob. Et ou vous me promettez toute amitié et fidelité, je confesse l'avoir chèrement merité et conservée, et ne m'en departirai, pourvû que ne changiez de peur, autrement ne vous serai que sœur bastarde. Car j'aimerais toujours mieux le naturel que l'adoptif, comme Dieu le connait, lequel vous guide en droit chemin de mieux sentir. Votre trez assurée sœur, celle suis a la vielle mode, avec la nouvelle je n'en ai que faire. Elizabeth.

* Instructions de Morlas, Ambassadeur en Angleterre, Dupuy, 121. The copy in Rapin VI. 445, strays from the expression, and is much modernized.

for an enemy, who betrayed them, after having been raised by them so high that nothing but the name of King was wanting to him; who stained his hands, under pretence of justice, with the blood of those who had worked mainly for his greatness, and were the most zealous Catholics in all France.

That he dissolved the Assembly of the States, produced nothing but advantage to the enemy, and was quite contrary to the wishes and will of his majesty. A part of the deputies had, it is true, absented themselves without leave; as this, however, did not suffice for the execution of his projects, he resolved to leave Paris in its old and well known condition, and neither the prayers of the Legate, nor mine, nor those of the States, who all of us represented to him the danger thence arising, could bring him back from this determination.

He conducted the war ill for its purpose, maltreated the officers, and shewed hostility to Spain. He has no respect to his oaths, and has said to me, —in state affairs we must trouble ourselves little about oaths and promises. When times alter, resolutions alter too, and it is not now a time to look back to what I once said to the King of Spain through Monsieur de Montpensier. Another time, when we were contesting this point at La Fere, he said: "It is impossible to be at once a good Chris-

Some months later, April 25, 1597, Hen
writes to his ambassador, Luxemburgh, at I
laments his misfortunes in the field, (Amie
been taken by the Spaniards,) on account t
neighbours might make advantage of this ne
Elizabeth herself, he proceeds, demands
should restore Calais to her before she will l
her assistance. My reformed subjects, m
shew themselves surlier than of old, have sei
money in the places which are in their hand
would then compel me to yield them things v
consider unreasonable. There are, moreover,
people in this kingdom whose hands itch a
as ever, and who would assuredly escape, i
not hold the bridle high. I shall in the

that feeling, &c. I have as yet returned no answer to the fine declamations of the Parliament and the first President, since it seems to me that my actions will open their eyes, and ought to confute those who turn simply to me on account of the present calamities. They would not find themselves so comfortable, if I had chosen to delay the proceedings till the opening of the Council, and had been supported by none but themselves. I complain less on behalf of the pretenders and fools, than of the leaders who are or ought to be better acquainted with the state of affairs, and have allowed themselves to go so far as they have. For such tumultuary counsels appear unworthy of judges, who are placed where they are to chastise disturbance and revolt, but who occasion much more scandal than edification by their conduct. I am convinced that you have not neglected to admonish them; so soon as I form a nearer judgement of their connection and common object, I will write what occurs to me on the matter. For the present it is well, my cousin, that the Parliament should learn through you that I am not content with what has passed, and would fain learn how to bring back to their duty towards myself, to the right path, and to their duty and obedience, those who have fallen away from them through fear of danger or mischance.

In another letter of Henry to Luxemburgh, June 21, 1597, we find:—I am thinking of peace, and if the Queen of England will not be reconciled, and shew herself too hard to deal with, and interested, I can the easier separate from her without reproach. For I must prefer the welfare of my kingdom to all other regards, and am not pledged to pursue the advantage of one who wishes to misuse my word to the prejudice of my state.

About the same time (June 24) Luxemburgh writes from Rome to the King:—I have spoken with Pope Clement VIII. upon the things adverted to in your letter, yet without letting him see the great embarrassments in which we find ourselves. For the exposition of ill success helps to nothing in Rome, where they only run after prosperity. It was also scarcely useful either to alarm a timid and undetermined spirit, or to bring him to the opinion about ourselves, that he alone was in condition to save us from our distress. We should, meanwhile, not obtain through submission what we might hope to obtain from the good fortune and good cause of your majesty.

I insert a letter of the Sultan to Henry IV *. Amurath, by the grace of the great God, Emperor

* Bibl. Roy, MSS. No. 9037. Translation from the Greek.

LETTER XXXIX.

Henry IV. and Elizabeth.—Instructions for Henry's Ambassador in London.—Peace of Vervins.—Two Letters of Elizabeth to Henry IV.

Two such distinguished spirits as Elizabeth and Henry IV. could not fail mutually to acknowledge each other's worth; but as the interests of France and England did not always coincide, what appeared a duty to the one, was sometimes disapproved by the other. For the elucidation of their relations, I communicate some passages from the instructions of Henry IV. to his Ambassador in London, as also two letters of Elizabeth upon the peace of Vervins.

In an instruction of October 1590, addressed to Bouillon, Henry treats the Queen with great respect, and says *:—I thank her with all my heart for the good and distinguished services which I daily receive from her, and shall willingly remain more and more obliged to her than I already am.

Instruction of April 12, 1596, to Sancy:—The King

* Dupuy MSS. 290.

will much rather put up with every inconvenience, and expose himself to all turns of fortune than displease the Queen. The good which since his accession he has received from her, binds him ever to honour, love, and serve her, and to accommodate himself to all her wishes, as far as the welfare of his kingdom and his subjects allows.

Instruction of April 1597 to Fourquerolles:—The friendship of Queen Elizabeth was always dearer to me, and will be always more precious to me than any treasure I can acquire. Without stronger aid from the Queen, I am, however, too weak to withstand the Spaniards.

The instruction of June 1597 to Reaux begins with complaints of the misfortunes of France; then proceeds:—Peace is not impossible, so much because it would be to the disadvantage of the King of Spain, as for the reason that the King of France is so jealous of his honour, that he will not enter into anything without Elizabeth, if his crown can be saved in any other possible manner.

The instruction of November 1597 to Maisses, contains assurances of friendship and gratitude, but excuses the negociations already opened with Spain. These led, Elizabeth delaying to take part in them, to the separate peace of Vervins, concluded May 2, 1598. With reference to these negociations, and this

peace of Vervins, Elizabeth wrote two autograph letters to Henry IV. The first runs * :—

De la main de la Reyne au Roy de France †. Par Monsieur Edmondes.

MONSIEUR MON BON FRERE,

Si on vouldroit recercher entre les choses mondaines chose qui retient la plus grande iniquité, et par laquelle ceste machine de terre que nous inhabitons, le plustost se ruine, c'est se manquer de foy, l'incertitude d'amitié, et moins d'amour ou il y a plus de raison. Quoy considerant je me suis bien prompt a mal penser de tel, de qui ie bien merite, que j'ose fonder asseurée pensée qu'en vous resideroit un si mortel peche que l'ingratitude, lequel entre les hommes se peut iustement nommer peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum. Pourtant quelle chose que mes tablettes me disent ou que quelqu'vns des vostres escrivent, il ne pourra entrer en mon coeur vne seule pensée que considerant tout ce qui est passé entre nous deux tant d'amitié, que ne me feriez plus de tort,

* Bibl. Harleiana, 4464, fol. 15, undated.

† It has appeared to the translator, that these two letters, as specimens of the orthography and composition of Queen Elizabeth, would be more interesting in the original, than in any form of translation which he could attempt. [Tr.]

que nul roy du monde feroit a deux parties qui proposeroient leur cause deuant luy en esperance de tant de justice, que ou il y auroit moins de raison il y auroit plus d'amitié, et non assister la plus droicte partie, ce seroit trop d'insensité de le voire en vu grand roy. Pour ce voiant que m'avez connu a ce Collogue et y estes entre si avant que scauez le tout que se pourra demander de vostre part et tout qu'ils vous concedent tout a rebours de vostre serment a moy fait par vostre ligne. Et que m'avez ordonné un si court iour pour ma responce, chose assez estrange; Je vous fay scauoir que j'attends que me faciez cognoistre de vostre main propre, a qui ie me fieray en ce traicté. C'est à dire, si moy demandant que ce que sera honnorable et raisonnable et que mon ennemy en niera la raison ou demandera le dan-

sa grace a ne oultrepasser les confins d'honneur et de raison, sur qui tous princes se doibvent fonder. Quoy faisant me trouuerez tousiours,

Vostre tres affectionnée et asseurée bonne Soeur

ELIZABETH R.

The second letter subsequent to the conclusion of the peace begins *:—

De la main de la Reyne au Roy de France. Par Monsieur Edmondes.

MONSIEUR MON FRERE,

Comme une estourdie par esuanouissement par pour le temps le sens, et ne comprend qu'on luy fait de bien ou mal, iusque a ce que l'errant entendement un peu se remette en lieu accoustumé, de telle facon ie me confesse, estant bien eslonguée de mes vielles expectations, et bien meritées esperances, me trouvois si frustrées de ce qui me sembla et conuenable et licite, que ne seachant a que i'escriroy voiant tel change, Je me doubtoye qu' escrire vu en cest humeur trop touchant mon interieur, on me presente vostre lettre escritte a vostre vieil seruiteur, en laquelle i'entenda que d'un grand feu les estincelles n'en furent du tout si amorties que dedans les cendres

* MSS. Harl. 4464. fo. 16. b.

il ne reste encores quelque peu de chaleur, qui me feit mestre plume a ce papier, que autrement ne vous eust fasché de mes mal martialles mots, par lesquels pourres entendre, que comme le passé se peust, plustost regretter qu' amender aussy me confie—ie que l'erreur ne se conuertira en peché ; Qui me fait attendre en vos actions plustost vn effacement de ce que se feist, plustost qu' vn accroissement pour trop accumuler le poids que desia a esté trop pesant, et comme il ne vous a pleu attendre si brief temps qui ne vous pouuoit incommoder—aussy m'esvahi ie fort de n'entendre quelque exception au traité, s'il me commence, non qu' il ne se defend. Mais ou i'ay esté oubliée en vn endroit,—J'espereray encores que par vne amende tiendrez la main non paralytique en mon endroit. Et comme auez le temps prefix pour mon entrée, aussy quand y manderay, vous souviuendrez la vielle amitié non obstant la nouuelle, que i'ose promettre ne trouuerez ressemblante. Et comme en son endroit vous estes monstré fort charitable, aussy a moy ne serez que iuste. Ce sera la seule ambition que de vos mains vous desire.

Vostre bien meritante Soeur,

E. R.

Frere, ie vous supplie, a ce porteur, a qui i'ay donné charge des choses qui vous touchent.

Though Henry IV. sought in every way to justify himself, the Queen was yet so irritated, that she ever reverted to this transaction; on which account Henry writes in his instruction, drawn up in Dec. 1601, for his ambassador Beaumont *:—Should Elizabeth renew her complaints upon the peace, &c., you must answer;—the operation and consequences justify the dealings of his Majesty, that they deserve the thanks instead of the blame of her friends, and this the rather that she has obtained more than ever, and will obtain her share of the great gain which accrues thereout to his Majesty.

The embassy of the Duke of Biron in Sept. 1602 †, had no political object of consequence. The King lavished praises on Elizabeth, and expressed his wish to see her, although such a project at the advanced age of Elizabeth presented insurmountable difficulties.

* Dupuy, 290.

† Memoires du Regne de Henri IV. MSS. Bibl. Roy. No. 8965.

It runs:—Were not the necessity which drives me to write so great and notorious, I would not trouble you in the matter of the immeasurable expenses, which press upon us continually, and, for the most part, unavoidably. But necessity has no law, and can have none, and by it not alone is the dignity of such an house as that of Austria bowed down and well nigh destroyed, but also, which is of even more consequence, the true worship of God and the most holy Catholic faith, as makes itself evident, to the sorrow of every Christian and the scandal of every good statesman, in a miserable fashion. Thus it falls out in all the dominions and provinces of our house; and if my states have recently shewn more respect and obedience, I have to thank for this, after God, my indefatigable watchfulness and insupportable expenditure. Nevertheless, the example and attraction of the neighbouring and revolted heretics are so powerful, that I not only conjecture, but with certainty apprehend, my subjects will allow themselves to be seduced to join the dance, as soon as they shall see my means exhausted and myself deprived of foreign aid. I am therefore compelled to betake myself to you for refuge, and to pray you to extend to me now, for the urgent purpose of prosecuting the heretics, the help which some years back you afforded me against the furious attack of the Turks.

Ferdinand, after repeated entreaties for money, and, in case of need, for troops from Italy, proceeds:—I hope to obtain all this from your Majesty, the rather as these dangers no less threaten your possessions, and those of the Italian Princes, and the Lord God has endowed Your Majesty with the title of Catholic King, and with so great power, to enable you to defend the Catholic sovereigns and nations. He will reward you most richly, but I shall ever remain thankful for the past and the future, who now make over to you my person, my possessions and property, kiss your royal hand with the greatest love, and commend myself to your grace.

Cotemporaneous with this effort to unite the House of Austria for the preservation of the Ca-

inheritance gave pretext and occasion for this. In the instruction for Henry's ambassador to Germany, Bongars, Nov. 1609 *, we find his principal commission is to betake himself to the Elector of Brandenburgh, and to say to him,—the King learns with joy that he is minded to maintain and manfully to defend his claim upon that inheritance. This determination is worthy of the justice of his cause and of a courageous prince; he ought in no manner to allow himself to be robbed of what comes to him by right. The end of Spain is to place the Archduke in possession, to which the King can in no manner assent; yet does not wish to dissuade the Elector from coming to a reasonable accord with the Emperor, since he will otherwise undergo reproach, nay, the chief imputation of the war which will be the consequence.

The negociations were placed on a somewhat extensive basis, when Frederick of the Palatinate, John-Frederick of Wirtemburgh, and others, deputed Prince Christian of Anhalt, in the name of the Protestants, to Henry IV., upon which Henry empowered Monsieur de Boissise to attend the Assembly,

vided between the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburgh. [Tr.]

* Brienne, MSS. Vol. 292.

werth *. There is a contest upon the right of voting, the towns and the Counts demanding as many votes as the Princes, from fear of being otherwise overwhelmed by the latter. Many Counts are also holders of fiefs from the Princes, or councillors of the Emperor, and labour to set difficulties in the way; the union appears defective in itself and insecure.

Two days earlier, Jan. 29, Neufville writes to Boissise:—We are in anxious expectation of accounts which we may reasonably expect from the Princes, in order to found upon them a final resolution. For it is necessary to be rapid in our dealings, so as not to be anticipated by our adversaries. The King's view does not change, he is rather strengthened in it, as seeing that the King of Spain wishes to profit by the flight of the Prince of Condé †,

* Forcibly occupied by the Emperor in 1608, and Protestantism suppressed. [Tr.]

† Henry Bourbon, father of the grand Condé. He was married, in 1609, to Charlotte de Montmorency, with whom the King had fallen in love, and had broken off her intended marriage with the Marquis de Bassompierre, for the purpose of keeping her at the court. This passion excited the greater scandal, as many supposed that Condé himself was Henry IV.'s son, by an adulterous intercourse with his mother, Charlotte de la Tremouelle, who was supposed to have poisoned her



to Boissise: We must unite the towns, Counts, and Princes, gain over the House of Saxony, by giving it a part of the inheritance, or at least effect a division in it. It is very unsatisfactory that the deliberations at Hall lead to no firm result, and I would be secure and prepared for every event before I deal further. The Swiss, continues the King, Feb. 23, never stir except for money. Could we only satisfy the Elector of Saxony, that would much weaken the party of the Imperialists. I entertain in no respect the project of undertaking any thing against the Catholic religion, &c. Neufville adds:—the Princes are more inclined to an agreement than to war; and you know that it would be very inexpedient for us to make a *levée de boucliers*, merely to bear the consequent odium and expense. The King of England, moreover, although he promises to join the union, is jealous of the confidence which the German Princes repose in Henry IV. Another letter of Villeroy to the French ambassador in London, La Boderie, of Feb. 22, 1610, is more instructive *. It runs:—The conditions of the treaty of Hall, which I forward to you, are not over and above advantageous to us. Yet we have determined to be satisfied with them, since by different conduct we should create such

* Ambassades de La Boderie, Tom. 44.

...erman princes, or rather so in-
...turally exists, that they would
... union which we are bringing
...ssessions. We shall meanwhile
... obtain greater advantages than
...ration holds out to us.

Henry IV. writes to Boissise:—I
...ces will soon be disgusted with the
... war, and yet I can do nothing by
... of 8000 infantry and 2000 cavalry,
...promised to assist them, I have col-
...n 20,000, and am myself disposed to
...nand of them. Neither do I perceive
...duke Albert is making any extraordi-
...tions.

... days later, (March 21,) Puysieux com-
... Boderie, that the German Princes had
...solutions as foolish as they were mis-
...upon many proposals of the King. It is
..., he proceeds, that we wish to support
... who stand in such need of our aid,
... so directly, and in so
... not

be weak, they complain of our coldness, and put it forward as a pretext to make weak preparation on their own part, in such manner, that it is extremely difficult to set in the right course people entertaining such views.

On the same day Boissise writes:—The German Princes fear the danger, their answers are therefore slow, doubtful, undecided. I have been able to extort no others, and your Majesty should therefore build little upon their counsels or assistance. Yet I think, that when it comes to the point, you must, for good or for evil, dispose of a part of your power for the purpose. The 5th April, the King replies:—Brandenburg and Neuburgh will not, as I wished, satisfy Saxony. If the Princes do not hinder the passage of the troops which the Emperor has levied for the support of the Archduke Leopold, he will soon be master of the campaign. For my army cannot be in readiness before the middle of May or the end of April, and the Archdukes are arming as much as they can in Flanders. The conduct of the Germans is doubtful and illusory, and their ignorance and weakness so justly suspicious to me, that while in conjunction with them I move upon thorns. Yet you must in any case, as much as possible, suppress and conceal this.

Thus doubtful was the state of things on the side

of Germany at the moment when the war was to begin. A second series of negociations was meanwhile proceeding in the Netherlands, which turned principally upon the Prince Henry and the Princess Charlotte of Condé. The common version, that she, in concert with her husband, had fled to avoid the amorous importunities of Henry, and that it was principally on her account that he had chosen to declare war, receives from the writings of Puysieux, Cœuvres, and Ubaldini, substantial addition and confirmation.

The instruction to the Marquis de Cœuvres, when he went to Flanders upon this affair, contains in substance the following* :—Condé treated his wife unworthily, on which account her father, and Made-

for pardon, with permission to leave his wife in Brussels, or Breda, with the Princess of Orange.

Extracts from letters of Villeroi, Puysieux, and the King, throw light on the further proceeding.

Puysieux to La Boderie, Jan. 17, 1610*. The King is willing not only to forgive the Prince for having left the kingdom without his knowledge or leave, but also to pardon the unbecoming and malicious speeches uttered by him to the prejudice of his Majesty's reputation, as also the letters which he insolently wrote to the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, justifying his conduct, and imploring security in their states. The Prince, on his part, requires a place of security on the frontiers of the kingdom, which for the King to grant would be too disgraceful.

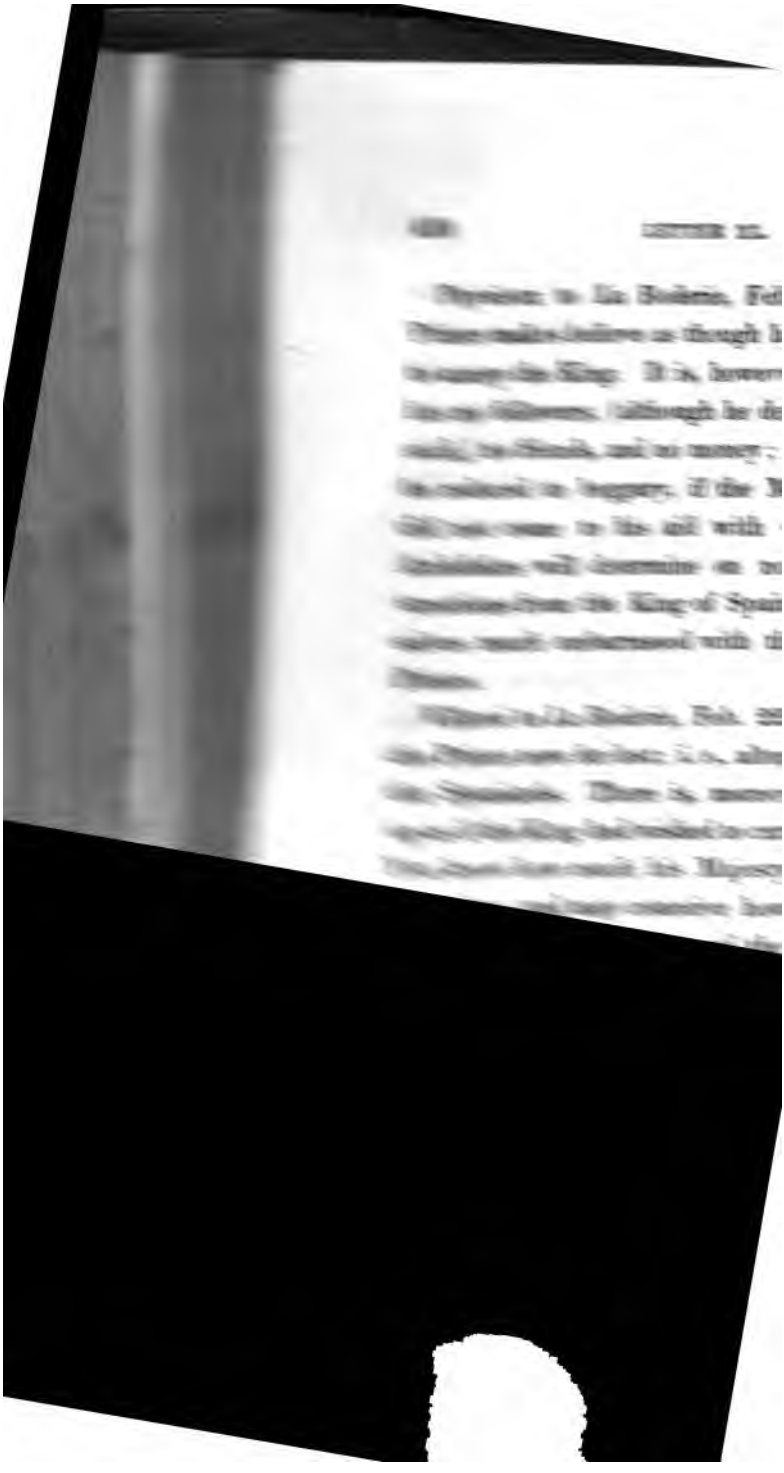
Villeroi to La Boderie, Feb. 6, 1610. The Prince will not return to France, through fear that people may amuse themselves at his expense, and think lightly of him; nor can he put faith in the grace and word of the King. Enough, he will keep himself free, in order to be able to avail himself of all contingencies. The Archdukes assure, that they will not abet him; but the King demands that they should send him back.

* Boderie Ambass. MSS., Tom. 44.

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event of my death. The Prince has expressed himself upon this so openly and imprudently in Rome, that I am compelled to consider those who further honour or assist him as favourers and accomplices of his project.

Henry IV. to La Boderie, March 20, 1610. The Duke of Lerma, to whom the King of Spain confides the supreme direction of his affairs, has held this extraordinary language, as to make me believe that the King has taken the Prince under his protection, not either by accident or out of compassion, but with the premeditated design of insulting me, and revenging himself for the assistance which, as he says, I have afforded to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands.

Villeroi to La Boderie, April 16, 1610. The Prince has left Brussels, and has been received with great honour in Milan, by the Count Fuentes. These things are more insulting than hurtful to us, and it appears that their authors willingly avail themselves of the occasion to shew us their bad will and hate.

Finally, however, the Archduke Albert conceded the passage of the French army; but this message arrived only after the King's assassination. This thunder-stroke, writes Neufville to Boissise, the 20th

has so hurled us down, and burnt our wings, we can fly no longer, or carry through that

event of my death. The Prince has expressed himself upon this so openly and imprudently in Brussels, that I am compelled to consider those who further harbour or assist him as favourers and accomplices of his project.

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rselves. Four days
ish to stand by the
ller to end their con-
; for if innovations
out in our kingdom,
ep back the succours
e wish for peace, al-
must prefer our own
f others.

Boderie Ambass. Vol. 44.



LETTER XLI.

Reports of the Nuncio, Ubaldini.—The Princess of Condé.—Peace or War.—Cleves succession.—Mediation of the Pope.—Death of Henry IV.—Ravaillac.—Regency, and conduct of Queen Mary.—Concini's Favour.—Sully's Fall.—Relations to the German Protestants.

Among the Paris Manuscripts are the reports, in eight volumes, which the Nuncio, Ubaldini, furnished, from 1608 to 1614, to the court of the Vatican from Paris. Ubaldini is a Romish ecclesiastic of the usual stamp, with all the well known, fixed, views, policy, and objects of that class. In no instance does he exhibit any original or animated power of observation, and those characteristic traits are usually wanting in his reports from which one learns most accurately the march of events, and the character of the leading persons of the day. Their contents are chiefly devoted to affairs of minor interest, and upon the greater he only gives us the superficial views which are collected by observing one side of the subject. If, however, the results to be

gathered from his eight thick folios are not upon the whole very rich, there are yet very interesting and instructive passages to be found in them, e. g., upon the relations of France to Spain, peace or war, the Prince and Princess of Condé, &c.* Ubaldini writes, March 31, 1610, to the Cardinal Borghese, with reference to the latter subject. The Princess will not separate from her husband, and the King is agreed with her on that point. The Queen Mary, on the other hand, finds herself in great embarrassment. Her husband not only desires her to invite the Princess to her coronation, but also to beg the Infanta to permit her journey. She has obstinately refused this, and has said to the King:—"She has wished to put up with his love intrigues with the greatest patience, but will never consent to be herself the go-between, or to appear as such to the world." The King was so incensed upon this, that he ordered the preparations for the coronation to be postponed, which, (although, after some days of the bitterest altercation, a reconciliation took place,) under the pretext of being put off till September, may easily go to the wall.†

* Colbert, 3307. Bibl. Roy. 9938. A—H.

† Andara facilmente a monte. At the prayer of the Queen the coronation was hastened. Report of April 14, 1610.

In order to avert the breaking out of a war, Ubaldini and the Spanish ambassador had audiences of Henry IV., upon which Ubaldini reports as follows: April 14, 1610—The Spanish Ambassador wished to speak at length with the King upon his preparations for war, and asked him in direct terms, why, having no enemies, he was raising so great an army? Upon the answer of Henry, that he was arming to support his friends, the Ambassador replied, the affairs of Cleves were unimportant in themselves, but if the King were to mix himself up in them they would become of the highest importance, and throw Christendom into great calamities! "The first to mix himself up in them," rejoined Henry, "had been the King of Spain, in that he supplied the money, by means of which the Archduke Leopold prosecuted the war." This the ambassador denied, with a loud voice, and said, whoever had given the King that information was a liar. Leopold had only received from Spain, through Balthazar de Zuniga, 100,000 dollars for his personal necessities. Philip, however, would defend the Archduke and the Infanta, in the event of their being attacked. Henry replied:—The Catholic King did well to take the part of his relations, but not well to trouble himself about the relations of others (Condé.) And hereupon he deduced a long string of complaints against

Spain, beginning from things gone by, till he came down to the circumstances of the day, and to the Prince of Condé. The ambassador replied:—His master trusted that he had in no respect done anything at variance with his ancient friendship for the King. Henry, however, said:—I know with certainty that you wish to avail yourself of the Prince, in order at some future time to wage war upon the Dauphin. With the greatest reluctance the ambassador replied:—The friendship of my master does not deserve expressions so removed from all good feeling and reason. The King not appearing to believe and approve this, the ambassador took still greater offence. Henry at last asked, why he had sought an audience? and received for answer—from no other ground than to inform his Majesty that all which concerns the Archduke and the Infanta, equally concerns the King, and that the affairs of Cleves will be of consequence or not, according as parties may conduct themselves. As your Majesty now knows this, you may reflect upon it. The King said upon this—"I have reflected upon it;" and dismissed the ambassador, who from this hour held the war to be unavoidable.

The Nuncio now sought to turn the King in every possible manner from war and the support of the Protestants, but obtained this answer:—"There is

in this no question of religious matters, but only of political, as the declarations of the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony prove. I am not of opinion that any changes should take place in the matter of religion." The Nuncio replied:—"What his Holiness does for the support of the Catholic religion, your Majesty must not consider as a service rendered to the House of Austria. You also maintain, on your part, that the help which you furnish to the Protestants, has no reference to the Catholics; but that, on the contrary, every thing you do is done for the advantage of religion."

The King soon came upon the topic of the Princess of Condé, and said:—I demand that she should be given up to her father, since she wishes to be separated from her husband, and all men allow that she is justified in doing so. I know well that ill disposed people spread the report that I am in love with her; but the world will pay more regard to my age, and all the circumstances of the case, than to malicious insinuations. Now, when I am on the point of entering Germany with an army, I have other thoughts than those of seeing the Princess. God, to whom alone I owe a reckoning in this matter, knows my conscience, and if all were true of which I am accused, yet it would bring no disgrace

upon me in the eyes of men, who do not grudge a cavalier the love for a fair lady. Ubaldini replied:—What appears of no consequence in ordinary men, becomes of the highest consequence in a king. For my own person, I believe what your Majesty says to me as all grounds confirm it. In order, however, to stop the mouth of every malicious person, it would be consistent with your Majesty's prudence, not to mix yourself in this affair, but to make it over, (as a private complaint,) to the Constable Montmorency, (father to the Princess,) who will it is to be hoped content himself with the satisfaction which the Archduke is ready to give. He even declares himself inclined to deliver the Princess to her father, provided only that justice and his honour be not impeached. In spite of these representations the King insisted on

up, the war may be considered as certain, and the King will take as his pretext, the Archduke's refusal to permit the passage of the troops. All the ministers, and Sully *, (who is now disgusted,) more than all, seek in vain to restrain him, and acknowledge privately to their intimates, that the destruction of the kingdom is unavoidable.

The President Jeannin has said to the Flemish plenipotentiaries:—That the public peace is in the hands of the Archduke, and that peace or war hangs on the restoration or detention of the Princess, that the other points are mere jesting. This is confirmed by a declaration of the King, who complained to me to-day of the Ambassador's having said that the Princess would be another Helen. He should know, learned man as he is, (added the King,) that Troy was destroyed at last because Helen was not restored. The King often finds himself unwell, sleeps little and not soundly, falls out with every one, and is feared by his own ministers. The Queen lives in great affliction. A year since, all France called for war, and the King stood alone in refusing to hear of it; he now alone presses for it, and all others abhor it. It is certain that general depression

* This is at variance with Sully's Memoirs. [Tr.]

prevails, and the army will be collected with gr difficulty.

At the same time the Nuncios at Prague and C logne sought to bring about an agreement upon th Cleves succession, and the Emperor confided th necessary powers to the Archduke Leopold. Ac cording to his account of April 28, 1610, addressed to the Cardinal Borghese, Ubaldini told the King —It appears to be useless to press you on the subject of the Cleves succession, as it is plain to be seen that your view is not to assist your friends, but to fall upon the Archduke Albert, and to break with Spain. The King here fell into the discourse and said:—You are in error; my object is not to do any evil to the Archduke, but to go direct to Juliers. I shall ask him as a friend for a free passage, and shal

pel him from the dominions of the Catholic King. Ubaldini then put together all the arguments which could persuade to peace: oppressive taxes, internal factions, danger of all kinds of mischances, and even in the case of success, the jealousy of the English and Dutch, who would rather see Flanders in the hands of the Spaniards, weakened as they are, than of the French. The King replied:—I know well that my allies pursue their own interest, and will be guided by it in either joining themselves to me, or separating themselves from me. I mean therefore to rely upon myself, and my own strength alone, and trust that God, who knows my views, will protect and favour me; and this the more inasmuch, as yet, no miracles have been wrought by him *. Ubaldini answered: —I pray God that your aim and object may be such that you may justly hope for the continuance of his support, which is usually given to him who has right on his side.

The King rejoined again:—I insist upon the liberation of the Princess, not because I am in love with her, as those calumniously maintain, who wish thereby to excuse their revolt, and also to attack my honour, after having trenched upon my royal rights; but on account of my obligation to her fa-

* The sense of this is somewhat obscure in the original.

ther, who married his daughter at my exhortation, against her will, to the Prince, and since I cannot, without disgrace, suffer the Archduke (a Prince of less account than myself) to keep prisoner one of the first ladies of my kingdom, against the will of her father and herself.

On the same day, (April 28,) Ubaldini wrote in like manner to the Cardinal Lanfranco:—The breach, says he, is unavoidable, in consequence of an attack of passion. I do not speak of Cleves and the Prince, for they are mere pretexts. The King has rejected with scorn the way of justice, (the only method in this emergency, offered by the Archduke, and recommended even by the French ministers,) and has chosen the way of arms as the shorter, in the hope that the Archduke will give way out of fear. Instead of now, when he sees his error, betaking himself to that path, he acts like a desperate man. I use this expression because he said to me yesterday, in that very form of expression, "The Spaniards have brought me into desperation." If the King would yet take counsel, and if Holland, England and Savoy, were to shew their aversion to his projects, he might yet perhaps be kept back. But not all political considerations united, can do so much to throw water on the general conflagration as the letters of the Princess do to excite it, such as she

has lately written to the King, begging for his protection, and swearing to him that no other hope remains to her of liberty or life, than God—and himself. Sillery and Villeroi shrug their shoulders, and give to understand, as well as they discreetly can, that the passion of the King frustrates all their exertions. I have pressed the Queen to throw herself on her kness before the King, and implore him for peace. She answered:—I have often already done so with tears, and will again, but it is all in vain.

May 12. Ubaldini furnishes another report to the Cardinal Borghese; stating, that he had represented to the King in another audience, that the Archbishop of Nazareth was sent by Pope Paul V. with the express commission to mediate a peace. In a courteous answer, Henry imputed all the blame to the Spaniards, and said:—The endeavours of his Holiness could not prevent him from marching to Juliers with his army, the only object of his undertaking. Ubaldini answered:—This was at variance with the requisitions of his own friends, must excite universal suspicion, was favourable to the Protestants, would set enormous military power in motion, and appeared unseasonable; as an active negociation for peace was going on the while in Prague. On these and similar grounds, the King ought to keep quiet,

otherwise he would demonstrate that he merely wished to break with Spain! Henry answered:—This was not so, he only demanded a passage, which the Archduke would grant him, and if Brandenburgh and Neuburgh were reconciled, he would be content. Ubaldini answered:—The King was pleased to jest, all depended upon him, and according to his pleasure would the agreement respecting Cleves be concluded or frustrated.

Yet the Nuncio believed that Henry would see with pleasure the restoration of the Princess, that he might avail himself of it as an obvious pretext for laying down his arms. On the other side, however, the misunderstanding increased, since the Spaniards spoke undisguisedly against the second marriage of Henry and his children, and in favour of the claims of Condé. The Archduke sought in every way to move the latter to send back his wife, but in vain. He considered it, however, impossible without consent of her husband, without instruction of the Church, to deliver up the Prince. The French were moreover prepared in case of a process of divorce to prove scandalous things against the Prince.

Precisely at this time, (two days after the despatch of this report,) when the great question of peace and war stood for instant decision, and the King was on the point of starting for the army—he was murdered!

We scarcely know whether (despite the absence of proofs) we should believe in human agency and conspiracy in this matter, or view in it a deep-laid decision of Providence, which cut off the King's thread of existence at the moment when he was carrying into execution plans of foreign conquest. In any case his death was an enormous calamity for France, and any sympathy we might feel for Spain, is stifled by the knowledge that the despicable persecution of the Moors, so terribly debilitating to that state, fell out exactly at this period.

With reference to the assassin of Henry IV., Ubaldini writes, May 30:—Ravaillac persists that he has no accomplices, and that he has been moved by nothing but religious zeal. At last he has confessed his folly and guilt, with penitence. God be thanked, who according to his wisdom and providence has not permitted that more than one person should participate in this frightful crime, and that he should be preserved alive, in order to proclaim to the world the truth of the transaction, and to contradict calumnies out of which endless mischief might have proceeded.

It is extraordinary, (proceeds Ubaldini,) that the Queen should have received private letters from Flanders, wherein mention is made of the King as

murdered. The Spaniards and Flemings wish to seek out the original copies of this letter *.

The Queen Mother, Mary of Medici, led her son Louis XIII. into the Parliament, where he said: —Messieurs, as God has taken my lord and father to himself, I am come here by the counsel of my mother the Queen, to tell you, that I wish to follow your good counsel in the conduct of my affairs, and hope that God will graciously enable me to profit by the example and the lessons of my father. I pray you, therefore, to give me your counsel, and now to deliberate upon that which my chancellor will lay before you †. These words, says an anonymous re-

* Ubaldini seems here to have followed mere report, and speaks in the antecedent of *letters*, *lettere*, but in the other sentence of a *letter*, *lettera*. The last words; della quale lettera I Spagnuoli e Fiamminghi vogliono trovar l'originale; may be so interpreted as if copies only had been laid before the Queen, and as if the Spaniards, &c., did not believe in the existence of originals. Dupuy, Vol. IX., p. 18, contains a MS. collection of what had been written and said upon Henry's death before it took place. But all put together does not suffice to afford any proof of further connection among the schemes for his removal.

† Memorandum sur le Regne de Louis XIII. Dupuy, Vol. xc., p. 32.

porter, were heard only by few, partly on account of the noise, partly because the King spoke with a very weak voice.

At the council many precedents of former regencies were adduced, and (no one making opposition) the sovereignty was, without hesitation, made over to the Queen mother.

She made no use of Ubaldini's good advice, to keep herself in bounds, and to proceed with foresight; wherefore he writes, Sept. 29, 1610.—The disproportioned favour which the Queen shows to Concini, is well adapted to ruin every thing in process of time. In other things also, she manages ill. This people, e. g., has been accustomed, especially by the deceased King, to friendly language and condescending demeanour. The Queen, on the contrary, speaks little, and by no means lays herself out to please, as custom and circumstances require.

The whole world (proceeds Ubaldini in another place) complains aloud, that Concini has been raised to the title of Marshal d'Ancre and governor of Peronne, at an expense of more than 200,000 scudi. There are several other prevalent rumours no less false than scandalous. It is, however, true that he sells favours of the Queen in a shameless manner for hard money, and no one dares to gainsay him. Yet

the Queen answered the Cardinal Joyeuse:—She saw well that the whole court was hostile to Concini *; since however, she had supported him against even the deceased King, she would carry through her purpose against all others.

With partiality, equal to the justice with which he decides on the affair of Concini, Ubaldini deals with that of the minister Sully. February 11, 1611, he writes to the Cardinal Borghese:—At last Sully has given up the finances and the Bastille. In this affair, the Queen conducted herself well, and all passed without violence. The Chancellor and Villeroi attacked him through Condé and Soissons, who also boast that they have carried through the affair to the disgrace of Guise and Epernon, who wished to uphold the Duke. Meanwhile it was necessary to urge

the political system of Henry IV., and protected the Catholics in Cleves and Juliers. She said, (according to Ubaldini*,)—The alliance between the King and the Protestants came to an end with the death of the former, and I have never consented, in spite of the most pressing demands, and the wishes of the King of England, who has allied himself with them, to renew it.

* Letter of March 14, 1613.

LETTER XLIII.

The Jesuit Cotton upon Louis XIII.

The character of Louis XIII., as it unfolded itself in after years, displayed features so unusual and extraordinary, that it is interesting to trace out the principles which appear to have governed him in youth, and to discover in what direction his earlier

perament of both; all true, upright, and without colour. The King has an extraordinary inclination for good and aversion to evil; so that if any one utter an imprecation or any unbecoming expression in his presence, or beats a dog or other animal, he becomes angry, and can in no manner endure to witness the wrong. To the poor whom he falls in with he orders alms to be given, and the moment he suspects that his almoner or other officer is giving but little, he orders him to disburse three or four times the sum. When country people bring poultry, pigeons, hares, and such like live animals to market, the King buys them for ten times their value, partly because he considers the purchase a mode of giving alms, partly because he delights in such animals. He possesses, in fact, in different places, animals of every kind; lions, bears, apes, partridges, pheasants, storks, cranes, birds of the east, &c. without number. What he best loves, however, is to hunt with falcons and to shoot birds, of which he has already killed upwards of a hundred. At first, he had scruples lest God should be offended at this slaughter of his creatures, and asked me, seriously, whether the practice were not a sinful one.

Having once been present at a comedy of a rather indecent description, and hearing some of the courtiers praise it, he said:—All would have been

very fine, if the actors had not done and said what was unbecoming. Another time he imposed silence upon a gentleman, who spoke of things not to be mentioned, and forbad a man of great consequence to enter his bedchamber without permission, because he had had intercourse with ladies of a certain description *.

He abhors heretics more than can be expressed, although he wisely conceals this aversion. He takes delight in religious instruction to that degree, that he has learnt nearly all which concerns the orders, ceremonies, sacraments, and even the hierarchy. In this branch of knowledge he is so far beyond his years, (as I shall hereafter relate more in detail,) that this very day, on which I am writing, during divine service, he enquired what I thought of the Bishop

Hereupon the King said: Therefore, he must be a sinner who made that man a bishop. Has he not also intercourse with women? And this he repeated several times in the same words. If he knows that any one is pious and good, he takes note of him, and behaves to him in the most friendly manner, but to irreligious men with the utmost aversion. He is moreover never idle, but in constant activity, while he is awake, following, in all respects, the great example of Henry IV. He understands mathematics almost intuitively, and loves geography and fortification, drawing plans of the latter after the rules of Euclid. He makes carriages, towers, citadels, birds, &c., very dexterously of wood, wax, paper, and other materials. He draws with the brush or pen without instruction. When still in the arms of his nurse he beat time with his hand on hearing music. He plays much at ball for the strengthening of his limbs.

He has a general and accurate knowledge of the rules of grammar, which ensure propriety of expression, and avoids errors, or recognizes and corrects them on the instant. He translates very well into French, from the Latin, passages not too difficult. He applies himself to the sciences and religious instruction in the following manner. As soon as he rises he prays, according to the ritual, break-

fasts, then proceeds to his lessons, and repeat
he has learnt. Then follow dancing and fe
till the divine service, which is always accom
with music. Then walking, the chase, bal
according to inclination and convenience. He
visits his mother till dinner-time, at which his
intendant always assists, his preceptor often
sometimes the confessor, the almoner, or oth
spectable persons. They all converse properly,
out any timidity. After dinner follow recre
visits, supper, prayer, &c.

Some relate, they have observed, without
themselves seen, how the King raises himself
his bed, prays on his knees, and sprinkles the
where he lies with holy water. When he is
to make a country excursion, especially for the

once, at the age of nine years, met the procession of the Sacrament, he caused his carriage to be stopped, jumped out, and prayed with bended knees, saying to his chief intendant and the others, I have heard from my confessor that the good fortune of the house of Austria springs from this holy practice *. His breviary and the entire service he knows most perfectly, so that scarcely a bishop could be found who could surpass him in repeating every part of it.

Next follow particular relations of all his devotional practices, how conversant with and fond of sacred histories he is, &c. It then proceeds :—If an ecclesiastic or other commits an error, he notes and rates him for it immediately. If the courtiers jest or babble on sacred occasions he has them rebuked ; if the younger gentlemen who are brought up with him are guilty of it he has them whipped. He has still about him, from the times of his father, some heretic attendants who cannot on account of the evil of the time, be dismissed. These he often warns, or rather exhorts with arguments, to become converts to the Catholic faith.

It happened once, (for he is of a sanguine and

* This alludes to a well known anecdote of Rodolph of Hapsburgh. [Tr.]

bilious temperament,) that a word fell from him in anger which displeased his mother. He fell instantly upon his knees in tears, and begged her forgiveness; not (as he himself said) to avoid punishment, but to expiate the guilt. He then turned to his chief intendant and said, "Exhort, rebuke, punish me, for I have deserved it."

He loves our society, (the Jesuits,) informs himself much of our mode of life, and he is pleased with hearing us well spoken of. After once listening for a long time to an adversary of our order, he reprimanded him, and gave him as he past a thrust with his elbow.

His sister Isabelle has a similar disposition, quick intelligence, active and healthy body. She is always in motion, and at prayers has her attention distracted merely by her vivacity.

Cotton, the writer of the above, was nothing less than beloved in general. The pages on one occasion surrounded him, crying, "vielle laine, vielle bourre, viel Cotton,"* and stuck pins into his arms and legs.

* Journal de l'Ambassadeur Anglais, 1604. Vespasian F. X. I found in the same MS. Bibl. Harl. No. 6895, fol. 143, the following passport given by the Jesuits in 1650 for 200,000 florins. Nous, soussignés, protestons et promettons en foi de prestres et de vrais religieux, au nom de notre compagnie a tel effet suffisamment autorisés quelle prend maitre Hippolite Braem, licen*tié en* droit sous sa protection, et promet de le defendre contre

They were whipped for it, and some of them dismissed.

toutes puissances infernales qui pourraient attenter sur sa personne, son âme, ses biens, et ses moyens, que nous conjurons et conjurerons pour cet effet, employans dans ce cas l'autorité et credit du serenissime Prince notre fondateur pour être le dit Le Braem par lui presenté au bieuheureux chef des apôtres, avec autant de fidelité et d'exactitude comme notre dite compagnie lui est extremement obligée. En foi de quoi nous avons signé cet, et y apposé le cachet de la Compagnie. Donné à Gand le 29 Mars, 1650. Souscris par le recteur Seclin et deux pretres Jesuites.

LETTER XLIII.

States Assembly of 1614.—Elections.—Opening.—Mode and limit of voting.—Sittings.—Cahiers.—Contest between the Orders.—Complaints of the Noblesse and the Clergy against the third States.—Reproaches.—Assembly and Parliament.—Disasters.—Eloquence.

The difficulties which accrued from the bad administration subsequent upon the death of Henry IV., led finally of necessity to a convocation of the States;

together with the eschevins, summoned the citizens of Paris to choose ten electors for each quarter of the city; of whom five were to be officers of the crown, and five merchants or citizens. There appeared, 1st. the clergy who possess residences in Paris, 2. the deputies of the quarters of the city, 3. the members of the parliaments and the upper chamber of accounts, who chose two of the city council, one for the church, two for the parliaments, two for the upper chamber of accounts, two for the court of taxes, two citizens not merchants, and three merchants.

Besides this short account the MS. contains nothing upon the Paris elections; it is silent upon the proceedings in the provinces; yet the little it contains evinces that they differed from the former proceedings, and that severe attention was paid to the personal qualifications of the electors and the elected.

According to the protocol of the third estate, the first sitting of all three orders was held, October 14, 1614, in the Cloister of the Augustines*. Each order had its separate chamber of assembly, the refectory being allotted to the third estate. The deputies took their seats according to their provinces, without prejudice to their respective claims of pre-

* Procès verbal du tiers état. Bibl. Roy. No. 285, 286. fol.

cedence. On the occasion of the choice of the clerks the question often mooted in 1593 again was raised, whether they should follow according to bailliages or according to provinces? By the latter arrangement the little provinces which contained few bailliages had the advantage, and *vice versâ*. No mention was made of voting by the head. This time the choice fell upon the mode by bailliages, with a provision for taking more certain resolutions thereafter.

Four days later, October 18, the deputies of Bretagne and Normandy represented, that although their provinces included many bailliages, (Bretagne had twenty-nine,) these had nevertheless appeared in very small numbers, and they were thus much curtailed by the mode adopted. It was answered, that in the election of the officers of the assembly, less depended on the mode of voting than on the mode of making the motions, and they abided for the present by their arrangement.

Some remarked that previous to the verification of their powers no election could hold good. Others replied, that without presidents and clerks, that verification could not be conducted. They, therefore, chose Miron, (councillor to the King, and provost of the merchants,) on account of his personal qualifications, and not in deference to his last mentioned dignity, for the president of the third estate. The city

of Paris started objections to this, which were unanimously overruled. Another protest of the individuals of the class of nobles who had been chosen as deputies of the third estate, against prejudice arising out of this to their other rights, was, on the contrary, received. All the deputies swore at once the same oath, and that they would keep secret the deliberations.

The orders complimented one another through deputies. Those of the third estate said upon this occasion to the clergy :—They approached the latter as the lights of the State, and as those to whom God had imparted more than to the other orders, they looked to receive from them the most wholesome counsels for the amendment of the State, and the healing of all its maladies. No less eulogy did they lavish upon the nobles, as upon those who had planted the banners of France in the East, had restored religion, and had saved the state from dangers by their valour. The verification of the powers was conducted according to provinces, and devolved only in cases of controversy upon the full assembly of the third estate.

When the King opened the assembly, every one was bound, by a resolution of October 24, to appear in the dress of his rank, yet they yielded to the wishes of some of the merchants and citizens, who

would, and thus some pressed on to the seats set apart for the councillors. The King, the chancellor, and the orators of the orders spoke in succession, the orator of the third estate however kneeling.

I communicate next some accounts of the remarkable sittings of the Assembly in the order of their taking place.

Sitting of November 4, 1614.

Presidents and clerks are chosen for the provinces, to collect the votes of the bailliages upon the drawing up of the special motions; and upon the formation of the general motion of the province. These motions of the provinces then came into the full assembly of the third estate for deliberation and voting. If the votes of the twelve provinces are divided upon a motion it falls to the ground; and the same thing occurs if a similar schism takes place in the provincial deliberation. The majority of bailliages decides the acceptance or rejection of a proposition *, two deputies for one bailliage have only one vote, which, however, is not counted if they disagree. The city and the bailliage have so much the more determinately only one vote, as the King has issued one and

* According to the procès verbal of the clergy of December 15, the majority of the provinces had the decision. MSS. of the royal library in Berlin, Vol. 16, fol.

[redacted] except in the case of [redacted]. One of the motions of the twelve provinces [redacted] general motion of the third estate.

SITTING OF NOVEMBER 5.

The Assembly will meet every day from eight to eleven, and from two to four. Only Wednesday and Saturday afternoons remain free, unless very urgent affairs arise. For deputations to the other orders, the twelve provinces nominate twelve deputies, six of whom visit the nobleses, and six the clergy. There is question of the deputation only, six besides themselves to the King, or to the other order, according to the order of the provinces. The six will among themselves who is to speak for them.

ject. The following day, however, November 7, the deputies of all three orders, were summoned to the Louvre, and a royal ordinance laid before them, to the effect: that if all three orders were not agreed upon all points, each should (as formerly) deliver a separate proposal. It was alleged as a reason, the new form was too extensive; it was impossible to define what it was which concerned all three orders, &c. In fact, however, the court feared the weight of demands brought forward by all three orders.

Sittings of November 7 and 13.

With reference to a special subject, seven provinces contend against five, that the votes shall be taken by provinces.

A proposition rejected by the deputies of a bailliage, cannot be again brought forward by a province.

That, however, which has been so rejected, can once more be deliberated upon in the assembly of the whole order; on which occasion the province which rejected it, has again the right of voting.

Meanwhile the nobles' chamber has elected presidents and councillors according to provinces *; has

* Sittings of the 20th, 21st, 23rd October, and November 5. Procès verbal de la Noblesse. Bibl. Roy. MSS., No. 283.

[redacted] verified the powers, has invested those present with the power of decision against the absent, has embodied the motions of the bailliages in twelve provincial reports, in order out of these, to form the report for the entire order.

About this time, however, a schism arose between the clergy and the noblesse. In the sitting of November 30, Savaron, a deputy of the third estate, said—The French have shaken off the yoke of Rome, on account of the insupportable burthens which it imposed on them; and I wish that I may be a bad and not a true prophet when I say, it is to be feared that the extraordinary burthens of the people, and the oppression which they suffer from the great and the powerful, may urge them in despair to [redacted]

have been ruined by the elder. By the special grace of God, we (the Parliaments) have arrived at place and dignity, occupy the judicial seat, and are the administrators to families of that peace which it is your business to procure for the kingdom at large.

This speech was very ill received by the nobles, and the President on the instant, complained that the third estate wished to establish its brotherhood with the nobility, as though it were of the same blood and equal virtue. Nay, on the day following, the nobles made a solemn complaint of the alleged injury to the King, and the President said, among other things:—All history teaches us that birth has given to our order such a precedence, and established such a difference between us and the rest of the nation, that the latter can never be brought into comparison with us. It is by the toil and the exertions of the nobility, that the people enjoy the advantages which follow in the train of peace. Almost without exception, all of that third estate are bound by fief or subjection to the other two orders, and yet they mistake their situation, and forget all their duties, inasmuch as, without the consent of those whom they represent, they wish to compare themselves with us. I am ashamed to repeat to your Majesty the expressions, by the use of which they have in-

of the clergy:—If the third estate do not give a sufficient satisfaction, we will make over their president and Savaron to the mercy of our lacqueys. Although several deputies had heard this, it was at last determined not to consider the matter, or take it up as one concerning their body.

February 4, 1615. Jaques de Chenailly, deputy of the third estate, going out of the assembly was so beaten by Henri de Bonneval, that the stick broke in two. Neither the motive, nor any consequence of this proceeding is related, but it is clear that it had reference to disputes between the orders.

The clergy was thrown into greater excitement when the third estate put forward the assertion, that the King possessed all his rights from God alone, and that every officer should affirm this principle upon oath. The Nuncio Ubaldini complains of this in several letters, and writes to the Cardinal Borghese*. You see how far the impiety prevails of those to whom the administration of justice is committed in France. Most of them belong to the third estate, and are inclined to a division in the church. The deputies of Paris run before all the rest and drive the others to a resolution so worthy of

* Letters of December 18, 30, and 31, 1614. Vol. VI. and VII.

abhorrence. This devilish oath (he proceeds in another passage) is like the English oath, and the Queen must step between it and us with her dignity. The Cardinal du Perron has, it is true, gained over the nobility by his discourse, but has found in the third estate, so much passion, obstinacy, and want of reason, that their president had the audacity to answer him:—This affair concerned the State alone, and not the doctrine or religion, and that they were acting as became good and faithful subjects. They were willing to amend any obscurity or liability to misconstruction in their expressions, but not to alter the substance of their proposition.

Cotemporaneous with these controversies between the orders, was a doubt which arose as to their relations with the Parliament *. The orders declared that their dignity would not permit the Parliament in any manner to take cognizance of any matter treated of by them. While the assembly was in being, the King alone had a right to decide upon the controversies which might arise between themselves, or with the Parliament. The Parliament is an honourable body, but has no jurisdiction over the orders; to allow of such, would be to sacrifice the honour and reputation of the assembly.

* Procès verbal de la Noblesse. Sitting of February 6, 1615.

Meanwhile the reports and proposals of the provinces were carried forward towards the composition of the general motion (cahier) of the third estate, but in the course of this the necessity was unfolded of their obtaining full information of the state of the public finances. The court caused two reports on this subject to be read, but refused to impart them in writing, which measures were approved by the clergy, who told the third estate, by their deputies, that the finances were the nerve of the State; but that, as the nerves are hidden under the skin, so must the strength or weakness of the finances be concealed. When formerly the veil of the Holy of Holie was drawn, no one but the High Priest went in to speak the word Jehovah; all others remained without. The finances are the manna in a golden chest. Nor were the staff and the rod wanting, which, however, were only extended over the poor. Commissaries, namely, were sent out, ordinary and extraordinary, whose only function it was perpetually to demand money.

The president of the third estate answered:—As Jesus Christ said, he willed to expose to all people what he had learned from his father, it seemed fitting to move the goodwill of the King to lay the administration of his dominions open to his people.

Almost all the speeches of the time, viewed without reference to their substance, but only to their form, appear mannered, diffuse, and loaded with useless digressions and false learning; in other respects, too ceremonious and feeble, rather than pithy or arrogant. Monsieur de Murat, delivering an oration to the nobility in the name of the third estate, said:—It belongs to us to make confession of our own ignorance; in regard of the astonishment into which we have been thrown by the dignified, fair, fine, and grave discourses of those who have been deputed to us on the part of the nobility. And in truth, the great quantity of refined and well selected flowers of rhetoric, employed by them in these discourses, have made us, as it were, lose the substance and intent of the propositions by them made.

This might be received for irony, but it was simple earnest, and Murat merely sought to imitate the most famed models, in adducing a quantity of far-fetched comparisons, and in citing Homer, Alexander, Cæsar, &c.

All these MSS. sources of information confirm the fact, that fixed forms and rights were wanting to these assemblies; there was much ado about nothing. They should have framed or renovated such forms, but not on account of the want of them, have let

those which existed fall to the ground. The chastisement of this error was apparent not only during the period of the death-like sleep of the States, but also in that final moment when they were, by imperious necessity, roused from that repose.



LETTER XLIV.

Condé's affairs, his feud and arrest.—Mary of Medicis. of the Marechal D'Ancre.—Louis XIII. and his m Richelieu.—D'Ancre's malversations.—Conduct of th chale and her son.—Luynes.—Disgrace of Vieuville.

THE States General had been courteously se and the Parliament, which then came forwa various representations and demands, had b pulsed with harshness, but the government w ther than ever from its object; the difficultie Queen were, on the contrary, aggravated pretensions of the Princes, and finally by th claims, but harsher measures, of her son. as the 29th January, 1613, Ubaldini says o Henry of Condé:—The Queen will not put hi cupation of the fortress which he requires; b

April 22, 1613:—Condé keeps himself at a distance, and betrays discontent, which much embarrasses her Majesty, so that she is meditating how she can, consistently with her dignity, recall him; yet not in the manner which the Marechal D'Ancre intends. The latter openly declares, that the ministers wish to keep the Prince from the court, and thereby ruin the affairs of the Queen. I have no participation in such a mode of carrying on the government. The Queen was greatly incensed at these avowals, and the Marechal is gone in disgust to Amiens; but his wife sets every thing right again.

The minister Puysieux writes upon these affairs, July 31, and August 25, 1615, to the French ambassador in London, Desmarets *. The public good is merely a pretext, but self-interest is the real ground of this tragedy. If any thing really required improvement, it would be fitting to make discreet and secret representations upon the matter, but not thus to drag it into the light and to set to hazard and sacrifice the King's honour and dignity, and the glory of France.

An open feud ensued first with Condé, then came the agreement of Loudûn, then fresh misunderstand-

* Dupuy, Vol. 419.

ings, and finally his arrest, September 1, 1616.
The report prevailed that he had been killed by the Marshal D'Ancre's people. Hereupon, (as is related in an anonymous MSS.), the Lacqueys and servants of Condé went to the palace of the marshal, broke in the smaller doors, put the guard to rout, and were supported by the people to such an extent, that from 5 to 6000 men were soon collected, who forced their way in with such fury, that some were pressed to death in the crowd. The palace was plundered, chests thrown out of the windows, furniture and papers carried off, every thing else broken to pieces. They even broke or tore to pieces the carpets, chairs, beds, doors, the wainscoats, and flooring, the lead of the gutters, the marble of the chimneys and wells. All the plants and shrubs of

hate to his person, assailed the King in many ways, for having associated himself with his enemies, and for having commanded that the marshal should be arrested, and in case of resistance killed; that if he came not to the Louvre, he should be sought out, and if he escaped, pursued on all sides. Information on all the circumstances of this transaction, is afforded by a MS. which probably is from the pen of a Monsieur du Vair, one well instructed in all that passed *. It runs thus in substance:—April 19, 1617, the Queen-mother spoke of the phrensy of the people, and in particular of the Parisians, who let themselves be easily talked over to acts of the greatest folly. They had even loaded herself with an heap of calumnies, and were not ashamed to say that she had taken part with the Duke of Epernon and the Marshal D'Ancre in the murder of her husband.

In the evening, she observed that her women were amusing themselves with a volume of sooth-sayers' predictions, demanded to see it, and found herself adverted to in a sentence which predicted her downfall as a consequence of her conduct. The same night she had so unlucky a dream, that she

* Dupuy, Vol. 661.

[illegible] in a chair, by a servant, and could hardly [illegible] her mouth.

[illegible] the King caused the Countess [illegible] to be asked, whether he could trust her [illegible] her son, and whether he could make use of her house in case of need, as a sure place of refuge for himself and his people? She answered:—She had no other will but his. This was all in anticipation of the possible failure of the project for flying to Mouzon. The marshal came, accompanied by fifty or sixty persons, to the Louvre, and is said, when the order for his arrest was announced to him, to have laid hand on his sword, or as others tell it, to have required that they should first conduct him to his little residence. It is certain that they slaughtered him, without delay, with several pistol shots, and

passed, hid her jewels forthwith in a mattress of her bed, and caused the Queen to be asked, through La Place, whether it would be agreeable to her, that she, the Marechâle, should come to her, that they might mutually comfort each other, and that she might implore the Queen's protection? La Place found the Queen in the company of some ladies, her hair dishevelled, and wringing her hands. She answered,—she had enough to do with herself, and forbad that any one should speak to her of those people, to whom she had before said, that they should long since have returned to Italy.

The King had, at the time of the action, shewn himself at the window, and cried aloud, "Thanks, great thanks to you; this hour I am a King. Summon the old servants of my father, I will govern for the future by their advice." They did as he ordered; his mother, however, demanded to speak with him. He answered, she should do so another time; at the moment, he was busy. For the rest she might be satisfied that he would always respect her as his mother; but, since God had invested him with the kingly office, he was determined for the future to reign, and execute its duties. The Princesses were, meanwhile, forbidden access to the Queen, and Louis said: They have whipped the mules for six years



distance, and had found scarcely any one willing to speak with him, he ventured at last to approach the King, who was standing upon his billiard table, (qui etait sur la table de son billard,) and when he saw him approach, cried:—Well, Luçon, I am at last rid of your tyranny. Richelieu wished to answer, but the King said:—Go, go, take yourself hence!—At last he sent word to the King:—Your Majesty and every one well knows, that for more than a fortnight I have demanded my dismissal even with tears, because I was aware of the disorders to which people abandoned themselves, and made representation to the Queen, but in vain, that I could not as a gentleman put up with certain speeches of the Marshal d'Ancre. The Queen, however, caused the doors to be shut upon me until I promised to retain my posts. I now wish to know, what are the King's commands? The King caused answer to be made him:—He might attend the council as a bishop if he pleased, but was released from his office of Secretary of State. Richelieu upon this gave up all the papers to Villeroi, and wished to enter the council, but he never ventured to take his seat, but remained behind the door, where he conversed with M. Miron. Yet a little while, and he only spoke of the marshal as of a scoundrel (pendard).

The marshal's people were at the same time

arrested, or driven out of the city. On the sec
day his body was dug up, and a lacquey, whom
had discharged from his service with the threat, "
would have him hanged," hung it up by the l
While the body was thus hanging, which it was
half an hour, that lacquey went round among
spectators with his hat, and asked for a present
him who had hung up the marshal. This wa
much approved, that in an instant the hat was
tirely filled with sous, which every one, the poo
beggars not excepted, threw into it as a meritor
gift. So great was the universal hate against
unhappy man.

When the marechäle, who, as yet, had not sh
tear, heard that her husband was thus hung up,
manifested great emotion, still however wit

by this horrible example he might learn to make a better use of good fortune. The clamour of the mob appearing to come nearer, the boy asked, whether they were coming to destroy him? Being answered, "No, that he was in security;" he said, "I had rather they killed me than that I should be as unhappy for the rest of my life, as I have been since I knew any thing of myself. I could never go near my father or my mother without, instead of a caress, receiving a box on the ear."

Meanwhile, horrible atrocities were perpetrated on the body of the marshal. A man thrust his hand into the breast already opened, drew it out all bloody, in order to suck the blood and to devour a fragment which he had torn away. All this without regard to the circumstance that the corpse had been dragged through the kennels, and was full of filth. Another found means to tear away the heart and another part of the body, which he roasted on some coals and eat with vinegar. All this took place in public, with every body looking on from the windows.

They sentenced the marechâle, though condemned of no crime, to death, and she suffered with great firmness. Her son was at last released from prison, an individual being found to give security for him. The young Queen sent him comfits, and some add,

she sent for him and told him:—She had heard that he danced the Saraband in perfection, and wished to see it. And thus the poor child was obliged to dance, despite his misery, in order to obtain, perhaps, from the Queen some alleviation of his wretched situation.

So far the relation of a well informed man upon the horrors of these days; who shall excuse them? And yet, if we consider the enormous riches which D'Ancre left behind him, and his bonds for two millions and a half in value, he cannot (even without reference to other charges) be considered as innocent. Unhappily his successor, Luynes, was no better than himself. In an official report of January 26, 1619*, sent by an anonymous writer to London, we find:—after Luynes and his brother, by the favour of the King, obtained entrance into the council of state, all the great men and gentlemen withdrew from it, either out of dissatisfaction because they could carry through no measures, or because they were expelled from it with contempt. This has afforded opportunity to the Queen-mother, kept as a prisoner at Blois, for seeking to gain the hearts of the discontented, who willingly attached themselves to her. The King, on the other hand, though

* Bibl. Harleiana, 1583, fol. 176.

frightened at first, convened the princes, ministers, councillors, &c., and it was determined with so much the more energy to suppress all raisers of disturbance, inasmuch as the Protestants immediately declared for the existing government *.

Luynes meanwhile understood not how to make discreet use of the advantages he had gained, and his successors hardly deserve mention. It was not till Richelieu entered the council of state, and his adversary Vieuville was dismissed, that energy and intelligence were infused into the administration. Upon the dismissal of Vieuville there is a letter of the King to the Marquis d'Effiat, his ambassador in London, of August 13, 1624 †:—The misconduct of Vieuville ‡

* Letter of the Prince of Piemont, March 11, 1619. The same, fol. 177, 194.

† Negociations du mariage d'Angleterre. MSS. Bibl. Roy. Chambre du Levant, No. 47, p. 56.

‡ Charles, Marquis de la Vieuville, one of Louis XIII.'s early favourites, having been thrown into that sovereign's society in the chase, in virtue of his office of grand falconer, in which he succeeded his father. He exercised for some time great power, as confidential minister of Louis, especially in the department of the finances, but his endeavours to introduce economy by the reduction of pensions and sinecures, raised up an insurrection of the blood-suckers of the state against him, and he sunk before this faction and the enmity of

has compelled me to do violence to my disposition and to dismiss him, for several reasons, of which the lightest would justify this treatment. He took upon himself to alter resolutions which had been adopted in my presence and by my command; he negociated without orders with foreign ambassadors, and attributed to me the ill turns which out of his own malice and revenge he did to several persons of my court. He put in my way crafty persons, who were instructed to give me evil impressions of those in whom I placed confidence, hoping by this means to insinuate himself into my favour, and make himself necessary. In short, he has neglected no way of injuring others in order to derive advantage

Richelieu, whose introduction into the council he had pro-

himself, and has thought to find his own security in his audacity. I have borne this for a long time, in order to obtain more certain information of the facts, and thereafter to give him to understand, he was conducting himself unbecomingly, by which I might hope to bring him back to the right path. At last, however, he has exhausted my patience, and I have been compelled to apply severer methods, as his pride and folly undermined all confidence, and his passion might easily do secret injury to my affairs. On this account I have been obliged in his case to add arrest to dismissal, without instituting stricter investigation into his administration, which, by itself, whatever it might have been, would not have drawn upon him the measure of his arrest.

LETTER XLV.

Process of Chalais and Marillac.—Return of Mary of Medicis. Assembly of the Notables of 1626.

I HAVE found but little relating to Richelieu's government, and that relates to the process of Chalais and Marillac, and the dealings with the Queen-mother.

The tribunal appointed for the trial of Chalais*

* Henri de Talleyrand, Comte de Chalais, another early fa-

consisted of the keeper of the great seal, two presidents, and six councillors of the parliament of Bretagne, and three Maistres des Requêtes *.

Chalais, says a contemporary reporter of Nantes, was brought here, August 18, 1626 †, condemned to death and executed on the 20th. He displayed great firmness, and said: "I am very unfortunate to have ill served the best of princes." He caused his mother to be told, "he died well contented," since he deserved a greater punishment than that which he was about to undergo."

The commission, which conducted the enquiry against the Marshal Marillac ‡, was composed of six councillors of state, two presidents and thirteen councillors of the parliament of Dijon, and three other councillors.

When his fate came to the vote (according to a different enumeration of the members) there voted against his death three Maitres des Requestes, and

* Relation du procès de Chalais. Dupuy, Vol. 480.

† Dupuy, Vol. 93.

‡ Marillac, Marshal of France, had earned that dignity by his valour in the field. Engaging with his brother, the garde des sceaux, Michel de Marillac, and the Queen-mother, in intrigues against Richelieu, he found his rank no protection against the Cardinal's vengeance, and at the moment of apparent success was brought to trial for peculation, and executed in 1632. [Tr.]

seven councillors of the parliament*. For his death, both the authors of these reports, viz. a councillor of parliament, and a Maitre des Requestes, three other Maitres des Requestes, five councillors of parliament, two councillors of state, and the keeper of the great seal.

I have sought to trace out the proceeding in detail in my history of Louis XIII.

The Queen-mother, Mary of Medicis, caused proposals to be made through Charles I. for her return to France. Charles was answered, this was a family affair. It was wished that the Queen should go to Florence, and that the King of England should not receive her in his dominions. In another letter Charles endeavoured to confute this, and concluded with these words†. However the case may be, the King of Great Britain is determined to remain free, and cannot suffer any to prescribe to him what he is to do, and how he is to govern in his dominions. Louis XIII., or rather Richelieu in his name, answered upon this: "The answer to the King of England's letter upon the return of the Queen-mother to France is very easy to indite, as it consists in the

* Procès de Marillac. Chambre du Levant. Vol. 193, 194. MSS. de la Bibl. Roy. I. p. 51, 54, 222.

† St. Germain MSS. Vol. 741. Apparently of 1637.

last words of that letter itself," however the case may be, &c. &c. This is so just that no one ever thought of laying down contrary doctrine, knowing, as we all do, how jealous kings should be of their dignity. On the same grounds, however, the King of France wishes that the decision upon the case of his mother should be left to him alone, in which matter he will, according to the goodness of his nature, weigh what is due to her and to the kingdom. In any case he will grant her every thing which can reasonably be demanded.

There are two special causes which form objection to her return. The King is aware that the Spaniards, after discovering that they cannot turn her personal presence in Spain to the account they expected, wish for nothing more anxiously than to effect her re-establishment in France, in order to try whether they cannot the better, through her assistance, carry through their hostile schemes *. The King would betray an utter lack of judgment if, in the present posture of public affairs, he did not secure himself against so palpable a machination of the Spaniards. If, how-

* Dupuy, Vol. 49, contains a detailed correspondence between Mary and the King, the reports of the Commissaires, &c.

annually a greater sum for her s
now receives from Spain.

A MS. upon the Assembly of th
relates, that there were summone
Valette, two marshals, five archbis
several knights of orders, cour
parliament, taxes and accounts,
the provost of the merchants; l
trates of other towns. Those
daily thirty francs, the Cardinal
consulted them first upon all subj
tion, and the questions and ans
in detail. In the name of the nobl
were preferred: privileges in the
places: establishment and endown
for the support of the poorer nobl
the purchase of noble landed pro
riers, permission for the

man of Richelieu's superior intelligence, of seeking information or advice from such sources. The advice he got was partial, inasmuch as the formal constitution of the assembly was partial, and totally void of the necessary balance.

of Monsieur de Brienne, that the Queen has been compelled to leave Paris, and to secure the person of the King against certain sowers of dissension in the parliament. They purposed, (as we have discovered,) to make themselves masters of his person, by intelligences which they maintain with the enemies of the state, and at the same time by secret dealings with the people, all which has been further confirmed by subsequent events. In order then to cut off all means of injury from these raisers of disturbance, the King removed the parliament, but the younger advocates have hurried on the older against their will to disobedience, and to so open rebellion, that they levy forces, excite the people to revolt, and place the King under the disagreeable necessity of reducing the inhabitants of Paris to obedience by force.

There is not a good Frenchman whose heart does not bleed for so gross an attack upon the royal power, and that three or four seditious men should for their own advantage, bring the state from its high prosperity, to the verge of a precipice, unless God, who has hitherto protected the innocent King, should take him now under protection and avert so great a calamity. Yet this we may hope for from his goodness, from the military power at our disposal, as also from the union of the royal family; although some princes and other great personages have embraced,

on grounds of personal discontent, the party of the rebels. Thus, e. g., the Duke of Longueville because Havre, the Duke of Elbœuf because Montreuil, the Duke of Bouillon because Sedan were not respectively made over to them, the Coadjutor de Retz because he was not permitted to deal at his pleasure with Monsieur de Montbazon with respect to the government of Paris. The pretext of the parliament is, as it always is, derived from the ministry, but I hope without presumption that all good Frenchmen will think the persecution (of himself) highly unjust. The services rendered by me are so great and recent, that my enemies cannot deny them. I have, moreover, shewn myself so disinterested, that for six years during which I have occupied the place of first minister, I have taken nothing for myself or my relations, although the Queen wished to give me distinguished marks of her generosity, and the whole royal family sought to persuade me that I should not refuse them.

After all, God grant that my fall might contribute, if but a little, to the service of the King, as well as to the welfare and peace of the state. I would be the first to promote it with joy, and to see my profit in doing so, for I have hitherto sought after nothing but a little glory which I could obtain sooner this way than any other.

What wounds the hearts of their Majesties is that, they must turn their weapons against Frenchmen, and that the enemy gains by our disorders, nay, may, perhaps, obtain all the advantages of a long and glorious campaign. Then would the effusion of so much French blood and the expenditure of so much treasure be entirely useless, and we should be unable to conclude any peace with Spain which should ensure the integrity of our provinces and the old boundary of the Rhine.

Further on, Mazarin proceeds:—We hope that these commotions will soon terminate one way or another, and I would shed my blood for that object if this were possible, in fact, without prejudice to the King's dignity. No less am I willing from my heart to forgive all those who have persecuted me, although they know as well as I, that this has been carried on by the passion of a few men, with whose extravagant demands I have been unable to comply. Yet I must bear testimony to the Parliament of Paris, that it contains men of great prudence, zealously attached to the King, who sacrificed every thing to see him loved and respected.

I will add but two observations to this letter.

1st. It is not proved that they wished in Paris to seize the King's person; yet there are many grounds in excuse of the suspicion and apprehension of that

of the Place du Dauphin and the neighbouring quays had a bell in the interior of that place for the prevention of robberies in that quarter, which bell they sounded on the first alarm of disturbance. Upon this occasion they seized their weapons in great haste in order to restore peace. It happened, however, at this period, that the carriage of the Prince of Condé drove by, just as the citizens were charging the wool-spinners and the mob. The latter thrust themselves, for their own safety, behind the carriage; and out of respect for the Prince, the citizens let it pass on undisturbed. In the carriage of the Marquis de Duras, which followed, was a lacquey, who let his legs dangle out at the door, and kept thrusting a lighted flambeau in the faces of the passers by. As he did this to a young citizen, the latter wounded him with a pistol shot. Two days afterwards another servant of Monsieur de Duras died, and they tried to pass him off for the one who had been wounded. In fact, however, the deceased had been wounded in quite another fray four days before, which he had provoked, after his habit. The lieutenant criminel has gone round the Place Dauphin, house by house, in order to procure reports favourable to those who have devised and conducted this mighty history. He found, however, the Burghers so unanimous in their report, that he

Upon the later history of France wa
from instituting enquiries. I, neverth
from the diary of Hurel (Bachelier pri
Roy. 10356. Baluze 853.

February, 1689. Fifty unconverte
rested in the Vivarais for having attend
soever was detected in the actual con
fence, was usually executed; any one c
evidence was sent to the galleys for life.

April 10, 1690, died the Dauphine
Inasmuch as she had been haughty to
avaricious, she was neither missed no
but the persons of her court, who lost
death.

END OF PART I

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

HISTORY.



G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, L

HISTORY

OF THE

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES,

ILLUSTRATED BY

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY

FREDERICK VON RAUMER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
MDCCCXXXV.



LETTERS

FROM

PARIS.

LETTER XLVII.

Naples under Spanish dominion.—New Imposts.—Insurrection of July 7, 1647, and Laws.—Massaniello's Power and Death.—Further Disturbances.—Insurrection of the Students.—The other parts of the Kingdom.—Nobility and People.—Joseph Palombo.—Excesses.—Conclusion of Peace.—Arrival of the Fleet, and of Don John of Austria.—Infraction of the Peace.—Assassination of the Prince of Massa.—Gennaro Annese.—Transactions at Rome.—Guise in Naples.—Arrival and Return of the French Fleet.—Letter of Annese.—Departure of the Duke of Arcos.—Count Ognate, and Don John of Austria.—Reconciliation with Naples.—Flight and imprisonment of the Duke of Guise.

THE history of the troubles which took place in Naples in the years 1647–48, is so remarkable and instructive, that every thing must be welcome which can contribute to its illustration and right estimation. I



was the conqueror's object not to preserve but to destroy.

In pursuance of this policy, the Viceroy, Ponce de Leon, Duke of Arcos, in the beginning of the year 1647, laid an impost on various articles of subsistence, the levy of which was very difficult, and which weighed most heavily upon the poorer classes. Various symptoms of discontent immediately shewed themselves: the Duke was approached, surrounded, assailed, until he gave assurance of the removal of the impost, without having either the power or the will to keep his word. Nay, when in the night of May 20, the building erected for the receipt of the new taxes was burnt to the ground, those in authority still were convinced that concession would only shew weakness, and was less suited to the time or object than ever. On the other side, however, the discontent at this tyrannical indifference increased, and on Sunday, July 7, 1647, the first great revolt ensued, which is thus described in a letter of July 9.

In the course of levying the new tax upon fruit, so universally odious, a contest ensued between buyers, sellers, and officers, upon which a considerable number of barefooted boys and young people gathered together, and destroyed the buildings raised in various parts of the town for the collection and receipt of the tax. In the mean time the mob increased in numbers to

tizen halted before the palace an
the Viceroy, of whom they dem
taxes on consumption and res
leges granted by Charles V. T
fair words, and appeased them
their departure; by throwing hi
carriage, which was accidentally
fresh suspicion among those wh
people pressed on to the carria
Duke, and maltreated him both
In this alarming position Arcos
was they wanted? He received
before, and promised now that th
be complied with. He was wi
self forthwith to the church of S
opposite the palace, and make o
gelists to that effect. Satisfied wi
him his liberty. So soon, howe
had entered the church, with the

as a mediator, and procure the fulfilment of their wishes. The mob was in some degree appeased by this; inasmuch however, as those in the church would not open the door to the Cardinal in fear of too many of the people pressing in, a correspondence ensued in writing through the closed doors. After several notes had been exchanged, the Cardinal turned to the people and said: They might be quiet, for his Excellency had granted what they demanded. He shewed them at the same time a paper, which contained the ratification, upon which the greater part followed him, or dispersed themselves with great signs of joy. Some, however, still remained, and pelted the guard drawn up before the palace with stones. The Spaniards retorted with musket shots, so that two of the latter and four of the mob were left dead on the place.

The Viceroy had in the meantime climbed over the wall of a cloister, and gained an unfrequented street, and betaken himself first to the Castle St. Elmo, but before daybreak to the Castel Nuovo. The people on the other hand raised their demands and said: The repeal of the taxes must be written upon parchment in gold letters, and engraven on marble pillars in various parts of the city. The Duke has also consented to this. The insurgents nevertheless increased both in numbers and the vio-

lence of their demands, and are joined by persons of a better class, artisans and tradesmen. All the prisons are broken open, and the prisoners let loose; they have spared the Vicaria only, saying, that the royal archives are there preserved; we will not do any thing to the prejudice of his majesty's interests.

They forced their way into the houses of some officers, who passed for favourers of the new taxes, and burnt every thing they found in them, without pillaging to the value of a farthing. If any one took anything up merely to look at it, the others compelled him with threats to throw it into the fire. It has even been seen, that persons who were all but perishing with hunger, would give articles of provision to the flames without putting a morsel into their mouths, and just in the same manner did naked persons deal with articles of clothing, which they might have used to cover their bodies.

The Duke has summoned the nobility to appease the people; for this end he has also released from confinement in Castel Nuovo, the Duke of Matalone. This, however, brought no remedy, as the people did no injury to any but the tax farmers and officers, who are suspected of having enriched themselves by peculation. Bodies from two to three thousand in number march meanwhile up and down the city armed with muskets, halberds, pikes, and swords.

They have chosen certain persons whom they call the council of war, and distribute commissions of captains and quarter-masters among individuals who promulgate summonses to the inhabitants of the various quarters of the city to join the insurrection, upon pain of having their houses burnt in case of default. A similar command has been sent to the places in the neighbourhood. On the first day of the revolt they destroyed all the papers in the secretary's office.

This day, upon the report that 700 German troops were marching from Capua to the relief of the garrison here, the multitude proceeded to Puzzuoli, disarmed the above and made them swear to serve the people. The palace is occupied by Germans and Spaniards. The streets leading thence, and towards Pizzifalcone, are barricaded with barrels filled with earth. Armed bodies march through all other parts of the city, carry images of our Saviour, Charles V., and the King, before them upon pikes, and cry out without intermission: "We will have no other God than the one whose image we are bearing, no other King than the King of Spain."

No one knows how the thing will terminate. The Viceroy is beyond measure perplexed and embarrassed, the nobles retire into the country, much property is deposited in the churches, and the interfer-

ence of some of the monks has as yet failed to produce any reconciliation. The report prevails on the contrary, that Capua and Salerno are in insurrection against the taxes.

On the following day, (July 10,) the following was proclaimed and posted up with beat of drum and sound of trumpet:—In the name of the most faithful people of the most faithful city of Naples, and of those who bear the chief command here, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy mother Mary, the pure Virgin, every one of what rank or occupation soever, is forbidden, on pain of death, to do any injury by night or day to any seller of provisions or to any tradesman, so that all may freely and without annoyance bring their wares into the most faithful city, and its inhabitants may occupy their

With command that no other printer shall print the same.

A second order of July 11, runs as follows:—The most faithful people have been informed, that the oil merchants sell their oil in great quantities to convents and rich persons, to the serious injury of the citizens; this is forbidden on pain of their being punished as rebels. It may only be sold in the gross to apothecaries, or other dealers who sell oil by retail.

We further command the captains, upon similar penalties, to provide themselves with the necessary ammunition for the artillery. Moreover, all inhabitants of what rank and condition soever, from this day forward, must be in their houses from an hour after sunset. In case of any pressing reason for absence, such for example, as to obtain the sacrament, the approach of death, or child-bearing, they must inform the military officer, who is directed forthwith to furnish the necessary escort of soldiers.

These soldiers are bound in strict obedience to their officers, and will be punished in case of delinquency with stripes, or in graver cases, with imprisonment, &c. By command of his Excellency and the people.

TOMASO ANIELLO OF AMALFI.

Upon this person a letter of July 13, 1647, gives

further information. It runs:—In my former letter upon the occurrences at Naples, I had forgot the best, namely that the man, who commenced or at least carried forward the insurrection, is a poor fisherman some thirty years old, Massaniello by name, of Amalfi. One might call him, homo missus a Deo, for what he has done, and is still doing, could not in my judgment have been achieved by any general at the head of the greatest army. He is obeyed at a nod, and the execution follows close upon the sentence, so that within four days he has caused upwards of an 100 persons to be put to death as leaders of sedition and bandits. In short he displays as much judgment and capacity, as if he had been councillor of state for a century. Unhappily, however, within these few days many houses have been burnt.

On the previous Wednesday, the Viceroy, the archbishop, and Massaniello had appointed a meeting, in order to come to an agreement upon the measures necessary; while, however, Massaniello was in the church of del Carmine, six shots were fired at him, at the treacherous instigation of the Duke of Matalone, and his brother Don Pepe; which yet missed him in a wonderful manner. Several of the conspirators were immediately killed, the Duke pursued, Don Pepe with some of his associates seized,

put to death, and their heads fixed upon poles. Thus we have from nine to ten deaths per diem.

On Thursday evening Massaniello, well accompanied by the armed populace, visited the Viceroy, received considerable concessions, and drove back with the Cardinal who sat on his left hand.

The day before yesterday he issued an order, to prevent the carrying of concealed arms, that no one should wear a cloak; and although in point of fact, every one carries arms of all sorts, the cloaks disappeared on the instant; even the priests went without them, and lifted up their robes, and the women also cut their petticoats quite short. He ordered further, that all nobles should fasten up the arms of the King and the people before their doors, and in an instant it was done. Upon the whole, affairs go on prosperously in this afflicted town and kingdom, for in fact it was impossible that things should go on longer as hitherto. The same course is pursued in the provinces. They have removed the arms of the Duke of Matalone from his property, and fixed up those of the King. His property which has been discovered in several different convents, has been brought to Massaniello.

So many occurrences have taken place, that it is impossible to particularize them, and all simply by the direction of Providence; for neither that man, nor the inhabitants of Naples, nor the entire kingdom

could have done so much, except the hand of God were in it.

Nobles and high officers are as little visible as the stars at noon. A procession, since I wrote the above, has taken place as follows. Massaniello in front on horseback in a silver plated suit of mail, the letter of freedom in his hand, which he shewed to the people. Then the doctor of laws, Julio Genuino, in a litter, on account of his age; all the rest on horseback. Next the Viceroy in his coach, followed by many Spanish carriages. Then the army of the people 100,000 strong. Wherever the Viceroy passed, the people cried: Live Spain, live Spain.

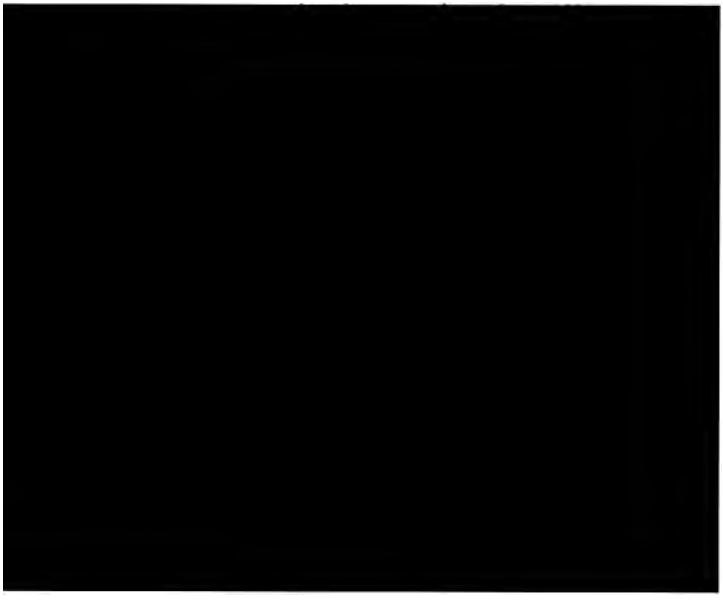
I may append to these MS. accounts some illustrations from the memoirs of the Count of Modena. The contest began on July 7, upon this point, whether the new imposts were to fall on the buyer or seller, which of the two was to pay? The buyers, who naturally made the majority in Naples, upset the baskets of the sellers and divided among themselves the contents, paying no attention to the remonstrances of the officers. Nay, after Massaniello had given the word, that the taxes must cease, they put themselves in motion against the palace, where the Viceroy, instead of taking serious measures, entered into verbal communications, and gave opportunity to the people to heighten their demands, and finally to use force against him.

By these means the revolt was from the beginning so serious, that money, troops, and munitions were alike wanting to the Spaniards; who had by their mode of government offended the nobles no less than the people. To prevent the junction of these two classes, the Duke ratified a compact by which all the new imposts were repealed, and he contrived by many different artifices to increase the mutual dislike between the two. The attempt on the life of Massaniello, which was favoured by the Duke of Matalone, revived the storm at the moment when it appeared likely to be appeased, and exalted the power of the fisherman in the manner already described. If he had shewn himself from the commencement fiery and severe, he became after this attempt at his assassination far more suspicious and cruel; nay, from the day when a second treaty was concluded and the cavalcade took place, he fell into manifest phrenzy; either in consequence of his great exertions and agitation of spirit, or of much drinking of wine, or of poison. He was shot, and the people who had worshipped him with such devotion, looked quietly on, while his head was cut off and his body dragged through the mire. On the following day the popular mind was altered, and solemn obsequies were instituted, so that Massaniello on the first day reigned like a king, on the second was put to death as a traitor, and on the third honoured as a saint.

Among the Paris MSS. is an

Elogium
Thomæ Aniello de **Amalfio**
Cetario mox **Cæsario**
Honore conspicuo
Qui
Oppressâ patriâ **Parthenope**
cum
Suppressione **nobilium**
Combustione **mobilium**
Purgatione **exulum**
Extinctione **Vectigalium**
Proregis **injustitiâ**
Liberatâ

Ab his, quos liberaverat **est peringratè occisus**



Alas for our case! What extraordinary scenes, what horrors are we doomed to witness. The troubles are not over, except for a day or two at a time; the arms are not laid down, but are being taken up with redoubled violence. Last Wednesday upwards of twenty houses were burnt to the ground, money was carried off under pretence that it was the stake of a game, (cose del gioco,) and the proprietor, a noble, beheaded. The armed bodies strengthen themselves daily, and on the corners of the streets one reads the inscription, Away with the Spaniards! They wish to kill them all, and the leaders of the revolt themselves change their own agents every day out of suspicion.

On Thursday the students also put themselves in motion, 1000 in number, marched to the palace, and required the execution of the Aragonese letter of freedom; which means that the doctor's degree, which now costs seventy-two Neapolitan ducats, should be reduced in price to thirty-two.

The poor further threatened to set on fire the hospital of St. Martin, if great alms were not dealt out to them; they threaten to plunder the wine cellars of the Jesuits, because these do not sell by the flask, but only by the cask, &c. All payments are come to a stand, the poor man insists on living like the rich; I have already lost 31,000 ducats, and

scarcely know how I am to buy bread and cheese, nay bread and water. All are like madmen, and if the trembling Spaniards leave us, God be good to us.

In a letter written some three days later, August 6, we find:—The revolt of the poor and the students is come to an end after all their demands have been granted. Many convents send forth their nuns; in many hospitals the patients are abandoned. In the convent of St. Clare, when the diet was placed on a reduced footing in consequence of the falling off of all its revenues, the servants and lay-sisters revolted, came to blows with the superiors, and among others the sister of the Duke of Noja had stones thrown at her head.—Those in the possession of power said to



in the highest degree dissatisfied with the daily increase of the burthens, but do not venture to let themselves be seen. The Viceroy no longer admits any Italian to his councils, but Spaniards only, and has forbidden the nobles to interfere in the affairs of the people. Some sailors dressed themselves like nobles and walked on the shore with their female companions in ridicule of the nobility. The litter bearers did something of the same kind.

In the rest of the Neapolitan dominions the troubles continue, nay increase. In Capua the people rose against the nobles, which latter, however, were assisted by the Viceroy with 700 German troops under a Spanish officer. This officer having erected a gallows, and commanded all to lay down their arms under pain of death, the populace armed themselves so much the more, confided the chief command to one Giacomo Rosso, disarmed the Germans, burnt several houses belonging to the more zealous of the nobility, ordered every Spaniard who could be laid hands on to be beheaded, and established a new government. Hereupon they informed the Viceroy of all which they had done for the acquisition of their liberty, and perpetrated various acts of violence on the nobles in the town and neighbourhood, possessing themselves by force of litigated landed property.

On the other side, the Count of Conversano has reduced to obedience and disarmed the greater number of his vassals, has hung some ten of the ringleaders and thrown many others into prison. Again, on the other side, the small tenants of the Prince of Ottajano, with the assistance of the men of Naples, have forced their way into his castle, (where he had taken refuge,) have taken his wife prisoner, and killed several persons, among others, two ecclesiastics.

Another letter by the same hand, dated Aug. 20, says:—On Saturday a great body of fruit-sellers collected together, refusing to submit themselves any longer to the town officers; upon which the Viceroy yielded to their demands and permitted that a consul should be chosen from the people, with ten associates of their body.

The Marquis of Camerota, against whom his subjects revolted on account of the imposition of certain taxes, and who had been shut up by them in his castle, wrote to Naples, to purchase powder and ball. His money and his letters were, however, intercepted, and the Marquis thereby compelled to surrender with his people. Fifteen of the latter were beheaded, having been yesterday brought in to this place, and the Marquis himself delivered over to the Viceroy to be executed, which it is thought,

however, will not be done, as the demand to that effect is utterly contrary to justice.

In the castle here, five persons, as I myself learned from a jailor, have been strangled. Yet my informant dared not for his life declare their names, on which account it is to be conjectured that the Count Corvo is one of the number.

All the artillery in St. Elmo, which was formerly pointed against the hill, has been for these four days past pointed on the town. Many conceive that if the populace do not lay down their arms, force will be used as soon as the Spanish fleet arrives. If the people, however, remain united as now, many fleets will not be sufficient for the purpose.

I believe that the nobles and the Spaniards would willingly revenge themselves on the people, for they have been grievously injured by the latter, though deservedly, according to the judgment of God. If, however, the Spaniards take part in this, I fear that there will be an end altogether of fidelity and obedience. The people on the other hand declares :—That it will never lay down its arms, that in case of being assaulted it will not leave a noble alive, and will reduce the castles in twenty-four hours.

The newly elected Captain of the people, Joseph Palombo, is a man of understanding and spirit, who has much communication with the Viceroy and the

other ministers. He has prepared a list of 280 foreign merchants, from whom money is to be required for the King and the people. Several Englishmen have compounded already for 6000 of the ducats of this country. Some think the Viceroy holds a hand in this game; for Palombo paid no regard to certain letters proceeding from him, framed to excuse this merchant and that from the burthen, and threatened that the defaulters should lose their heads.

The next letter, still dated August, runs in substance:—In the moment when Naples, in virtue of the concessions made to the people, began to be tranquillized, revolts, more violent and bloody than the first, broke out. Among the points conceded by the Viceroy are established—that no one of the public officers, whose house had been burnt, should be judge in any case in which persons of the people were concerned. In pursuance of this principle the President, Cinnamo, was rejected by a party to a cause, and his incompetency confirmed by the Viceroy. Cinnamo, however, adducing testimonials from Genuino, Arpaja, and other leaders of the populace, that his house had not been burnt by the command of Massaniello and the people, but had been set on fire by personal enemies, Arcos recalled his decision, and pronounced that he might exercise his functions as judge in the cause. Many were alarmed at

this, and feared that all cases might be considered after the precedent of this one of Cinnamo, and every burning be represented as the result of private malice and be severely punished. For this reason they hastened on the evening of Wednesday the 20th August, to the house of Genuino, with the purpose of putting him to death, for the having signed this testimony. Genuino, however, asserted that his signature had been forged, and appeased the multitude for the moment. In fear lest the truth should come to light, as in the result it did, he took refuge in the Viceroy's palace. He was soon followed by the multitude, who demanded that he should be given up. They had almost succeeded in quieting the populace, when a shot was fired from a neighbouring guard house after a German who was in the act of deserting, upon which the mob, conceiving that it had been aimed at themselves, fell upon the guard, and the latter having retreated into the palace, threw stones at the windows and endeavoured to force an entrance. Some losing their lives, the remainder fled, but took to ringing the bells, attacked with great increase of numbers the entrenchments of the Spaniards, took possession of several strong positions and palaces, and committed numberless atrocities, the city all the time being battered by the guns of the citadel.

These horrors, says the next letter, of Aug. 27, lasted several days, and the people remained under arms day and night. On Saturday, the councillor of justice, San Felice, and the President Cinnamo were by its command beheaded, their heads stuck upon pikes, and their bodies shamefully maltreated. The soldiers lie and waste away in the convents, divine service is not spoken of, and every one must pray to heaven that a peace may at length be concluded.

During the negociation, however, (this is established by the following letter,) the Viceroy was shot at; all provisions were cut off from the Spaniards, and placards with the following inscription were posted; Ye golden lilies, how long will ye suffer us to wait your coming?

At length, however, Sept. 2d, it was settled that the peace should be sworn to, on which occasion, however, a dispute for precedence arose between the captain, the military commandant, and the civil commandant, elected by the people, the latter claiming priority, because the other received his pay from him. In behalf of the people's officer appeared 1200 horsemen, sumptuously and unusually accoutred with trumpets and other music, followed by 50,000 of the people, for the most part armed; next came 600 horsemen partly employés and of-

ficers, and in their midst Toraldo, the officer of the troops; finally, in great pomp, the Eletto, or officer of peace.

These two, with the superior officers and the twenty-nine captains of the quarters of the city, called Ottini, were admitted into the castle, where they found among other persons the Cardinals Filomarino and Trivulzio and the Viceroy. After fresh contentions for rank between the latter and Toraldo, the peace was sworn, upon which great joy was displayed by all the people.

The report, however, of the probable speedy arrival of a Spanish fleet under Don John of Austria *, soon disturbed these friendly relations. The people, says a letter of September 2, 1647, fears a junction between the nobles and the Spaniards, increases its watchfulness, and hinders every thing from being introduced in the castles occupied by the latter. The Viceroy has caused the Eletto to come to him, and has told him, inasmuch as Don John will shortly be here at the head of 12,000 men, the people might as well restore the 16,000 stand of arms which had been lent them in order to equip the above force for the good of the city and the realm. In a council

* A natural son of Philip IV., born in 1629.

called by the Eletto to consider of this demand, it was determined, that as it was necessary Naples should be guarded by the people, the restoration of the arms could not take place; Don John should be received with honour and obedience as became a person so exalted. The opinion meanwhile prevails, that he ought not to land troops. The Viceroy answered:—Inasmuch as Don John was sent by the King, and would be provided with higher instructions, he, the Viceroy, could neither promise nor decide any thing in the matter. This answer has again excited so much suspicion among the people, that it begins to take defensive measures, and both parties are observing each other with anxiety. Upon a report that several of the nobles were collecting troops, bodies of men were sent out to prevent them from entering the city.

The whole city is to-day in commotion, because the Cardinal Archbishop has set out the consecrated elements in several churches with an exhortation to pray to heaven for peace and tranquillity. As his Eminence drove, in the afternoon, through the market-place, he exhorted the people to follow him into the churches; many replied, they could not leave their posts out of fear of those set over them. Although the cry be raised of Live Spain! not a few

would fain shake off altogether the Spanish sovereignty, and call in an Italian prince, but they know not which.

October 1, the Spanish fleet at last appeared, to the great joy of the Viceroy and his party. Don John, says a letter of the above date, came on shore; the people gave neither sign of joy nor of discontent, an immense number went down to the shore unarmed, to see the fleet, the quarters of del Carmine, Conciaria, and Lavinaro alone were on their guard, the insurrection having proceeded from those quarters of the city. Some hope for the confirmation of tranquillity; others dread the vengeance of Spain.

The Eletto has, out of compliment, sent provisions and wine to Don John.

The arrival of Don John, says the Count of Modena, rejoices every one: the Duke of Arcos, for he hoped by his means to obtain revenge; those whose houses had been burnt or had been otherwise outraged, for they expect by his aid to obtain a restoration of their rights and property; the people, because they look upon him as a pacificator. On the other hand, Arcos feared the too great influence of the Prince, wished to set him at variance with the people, or at least to throw upon him the odium of all the measures which he himself proposed to adopt. "Better," said he, "that Naples should be destroyed

than remain a nest of rebels and malefactors, and if 100,000 men were to lose their lives in the scuffle, the King would not lose a friend, but his enemies would be punished by a fate which they deserve.

Far therefore from meeting the people half way, or endeavouring to guide them by prudent management, the government issued a proclamation commanding them to lay down their arms, and as this demand, in despite of the exertions of the Prince of Massa, was rejected, it was determined to break through a peace which had been established only on compulsion, and to fall upon the city. October 5, a fire was suddenly opened upon it from the three castles, St. Elmo, Uovo, and Nuovo, and the entire fleet, and at the same instant the Spaniards made a sally, driving the populace before them in all the streets. Despair, however, gave courage, they chose to die with arms in their hands, rather than by the hands of the hangman. After two days' fighting, all the operations of the Spaniards had failed, the Viceroy was without resource, Don John in despair, and the Neapolitans determined to separate entirely from the Spaniards. The Prince of Massa, who on many grounds was reluctant to place himself at their head, fell under suspicion, and was cruelly murdered, and the armourer Gennaro Annese, (who could neither write nor read,) in an irregular manner elected leader.

The administration now fell into greater confusion than before, trade and agriculture were at a stand, access to the city was cut off by the confederate nobles, money and munitions of war were wanting, and the public necessities increased in the city from day to day. It was, therefore, necessary, either to look for a peaceful conclusion, or to resort to foreign aid. The latter, however, as Gennaro Annese plainly saw, was useless if not powerful, and if powerful, dangerous to himself. The aged Pope Innocent X. had no inclination for mixing himself up in the affairs of Naples, even the French ambassador at Rome hesitated, the Duke of Guise, then resident at Rome, however, was that way inclined, the more because he wished to be separated from his wife. He possessed, however, so little money and force to aid his popularity and courage, that the Spaniards, to whom his dealings with the Neapolitans could not remain a secret, were almost of opinion that they ought rather to aid than to obstruct his too hasty enterprize.

At last positive advances were made from Naples. October 24, 1647, they wrote to the King of France: The most faithful people of Naples and its government, implores your majesty with tears of blood, that you will let it enjoy the fruit of your benignity; come with your fleet to the aid of this afflicted city,

and at the same time burn that of the enemy. By God's grace, and also by the vigilance of our captain of artillery, and our chief commander, has the pride of Spain, and an assault of 60,000 bullets been repulsed, and the hostile fleet been considerably damaged by a cannon which was discharged at it for eight days together without cessation. The people has raised its cry to your majesty. May your majesty, therefore, be not slow with your protection, on which be the blessing of God. We bow profoundly to your majesty, and kiss the hem of your royal robe, &c.

On the same day Gennaro wrote to the Duke of Guise:—After I, with the other leaders of the most faithful people of Naples, had read your very friendly letter, we determined to dispatch Nicolo Maria Mannara to your highness with letters and instructions.

Thursday moderate. In the evening, however, five Spanish galleys made their appearance, which dispersed the feluccas, and when this danger appeared to be over, a storm arose, which again dispersed them, so that Guise arrived only on the 15th, in broad daylight at Naples, accompanied by only one felucca, and sailing with wonderful good fortune past the Spanish fleet, landed successfully. Hew as received with every demonstration of joy that could be devised, and conducted by Gennaro Annese to his residence in the del Carmine convent. On the following day he was appointed Generalissimo by the council with the same powers which are attached to the Prince of Orange in Holland. The promise of French protection was hailed with great applause by the people, who called the French king their Sovereign. As no picture of him was to be procured in Naples, Gennaro found one out of Louis XIII., before which, although the features were those of an old man, and it was wretchedly painted, many made bows and adorations. A standard with the arms of France was hoisted, and the drummers received orders to drum after the French fashion.

Guise visited the Cardinal Filomarini, who was compelled, although against his will, to treat him as an altesse. Guise was escorted by 1000 cavalry, and 10,000 of the populace, who shouted without inter-

ruption, "Live the King of France, live the most honourable republic, live the Duke of Guise! death to the accursed race of the Spaniards," &c.

Some of the populace cast their mantles on the pavement, that that might serve the Duke for carpets; others burnt incense at the windows in honour of him.

There are other letters which treat of the same events, from which I extract the following:—The uninterrupted oppression which the Neapolitans endured from the ambition of the Spaniards, has compelled them to shake off that tyranny, to place themselves as a republic under the protection of France, to name the Duke of Guise their Generalissimo and defender of their liberties. The sailors sought in vain during the storm to move him to retreat, he preferred the hazard of perishing, and compelled them to proceed on the voyage. On Friday, November 15th, he arrived at Naples, at about eight in the morning. An action so glorious that we can find no parallel to it in ancient or modern history. He was received with indescribable acclamation, and went forthwith to the church del Carmine to receive the scapulary of that brotherhood which in Naples is held in singular honour. He then betook himself to the house of the chief commander Gennaro, who shewed him all possible honour.

With respect to the latter circumstance the Count of Modena relates:—Gennaro demanded that the Duke should lodge with himself till his residence should be got ready in the Carmelite convent, in order that the public might thence be aware of their close friendship *. Guise was obliged to yield, though with reluctance; for the apartment was like a receptacle of thieves, in which silver plate, and other articles of value were piled in confusion. Gennaro and his wife prepared the food with their own hands, from fear of being poisoned, and slept upon mattrasses, which were stretched on the earthen floor, amid a quantity of other rubbish and filth, which emitted the most insupportable stench †.

On November 18, says another letter of the 25th, there was a general review before the Duke. 80,000 men marched by, 20,000 occupied the posts against the Spaniards, and there were yet 20,000 more without arms. (According to the estimate of the Duke of Modena their exaggerated muster roll reduces itself to from 4 to 5000 real soldiers.) On the 19th was held a council of war, attended by all the officers,

* Mem. II. p. 176.

† These memoirs of the Duke contain a most amusing description of the den of this brigand, and of his entertainment there. Some of the details are unsuited to delicate stomachs. [Tr.]

were directed upon Arcisa, [illegible]
were partly successful, partly u
with the Spaniards. Novembe
all the posts of the Spaniards
latter defended themselves in sc
but lost above 600 killed, and
their positions, having, in fe
the French fleet, manned th
force, and not having expected
by land.

The Viceroy has called up
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from their vassals, and tremble
Some individuals have joined
party. The city has receive
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ships, the want of the Spaniar
many persons have been forced

Yesterday arrived fifty, to-day twenty, Frenchmen, sent from Mr. de Fontenay. They seem practised soldiers, and available as officers. The people has declared all the Genoese who possess property in the kingdom rebels, and has declared hostility against that republic, for its having provided the Spaniards with provisions, arms, troops, and money. The latter are so perplexed and confounded, that they know not, in fact, what to do. In consequence of their embarrassment, they betake themselves to talking and threatening when they ought much rather to resort to prayers. Thus they have pronounced the Cardinal, Archbishop Filomarini, for having received the visit of Guise, with all his relations and followers, rebels.

The Spaniards yet contrived so far to profit by the natural effect of circumstances, as to perpetuate the jealousy between the nobles and the people, and to interrupt the good understanding between Gennaro and Guise. All these petty advantages, however, appeared to vanish, when a French fleet arrived before Naples. A letter of December 24, says upon this: On the evening of Wednesday a French fleet of twenty-nine sail appeared unexpectedly in our harbour. She lay opposite the Spanish, at a cannon shot distance, and challenged the latter to combat for three days together. The latter was thirty-seven

sail strong, not counting twenty galleys, but generally ill equipped; on which account they sent on board, in the greatest haste, German, Spanish, and Italian troops, and abandoned the land defence to the gentlemen, who refused to have anything to do with the sea. Not a few persons were pressed by force into the sea service.

The French, meanwhile, getting information that five Spanish galleys and four ships were making sail from Castel à mare, approached that part of the coast, and were saluted as friends by the ships. When the Spaniards perceived their error, the galleys escaped by dint of rowing; the ships, however, which could not gain the wind, were burnt.

The writer now goes into particulars of several actions at sea, especially of a great cannonade which

Annese, had acquired still greater power in Naples, the Count of Modena had reduced Aversa, and had made many inroads on the power of the nobles. Yet all this was not sufficient to obviate many difficulties. The Spanish party saw the greatest obstacle to their views in the Duke of Arcos, on which account the latter finally resigned his chief command into the hands of Don John, and, on the 26th January, quitted Naples.

Several letters give further particulars upon this. In the first place, Gennaro Annese writes, Jan. 10, 1648, (to the Marquis of Fontenay, as would appear): The recent disturbances induce me to assure your Excellency of my most obedient reverence, and to remark, that the Duke of Guise appears to be acting more for his own advantage than for the service of his most Christian Majesty. After having taken into his keeping all the money of the republic, and attached to himself many military persons, he went forth one day, on a sudden, accompanied by five or six officers who were always inclined to Spain, and sought to play the city into the enemy's hands. By these, who by the good citizens were considered as traitors, he has caused himself to be proclaimed as Duke, has robbed me of my command, and attacked, at the same time, the Torrione del Carmine with 150 soldiers, who were, however, disarmed by my

soldiers. He has likewise formed a band out of the black caps, i. e., the civil officers, which, during the attack of a post, raised the cry of Live the Spaniards; and although many of them have been arrested by the people, it is not observed that they are brought to fitting justice, which excites great murmurs. In short, the entire conduct of the Duke appears to me in contradiction with his duty, which I have therefore been anxious to represent to your Excellency, and to receive your commands thereupon, to which I shall ever submit myself. The priest, through whom the correspondence has been conducted with Rome, has been arrested by the Duke's order.

Beyond doubt, Guise was not entirely in accordance either with the French government or with the people of Naples, and the Spaniards had set several persons about him who persuaded him to adopt erroneous measures.

After nine months of the most sanguinary warfare, (says a letter of April 11,) carried on between landlord and vassal, citizen and citizen, nay, brother and brother, it has pleased God to send us a kind of peace. Subsequent to the departure of Arcos, the chief command fell into the hands of Don John of Austria, who applied every means to the restoration of tranquillity, and, in several public declarations,

conceded to the people their demands and even more. Persevering in the same course, the Count Ognate after him, favoured by several circumstances, brought the work of peace to an issue. For, in the first place, many of the nobles and citizens were still devoted to the King, and wished to take the first opportunity of shewing that they were so. In the second place, the price of provisions rose to a pitch not to be defrayed, and there was no prospect of a supply from any quarter. Thirdly, the long postponement of the promised French succours raised the conviction that it would never arrive. Fourthly, the license of the populace had risen to such a pitch, that it exceeded that of any other tyrant, and all were reduced to fear, not only for their property, but their lives. Fifthly, the disunion between Guise and the leaders of the people had its effect; the latter, after the violent death of Massaniello, fearing that he would remove them all, and, by the help of the people, to whom he allowed every license, establish himself in absolute power. These circumstances induced them to embrace negociations with the King's party, which latter, on penetrating into some of the quarters of the city which had been the seats of insurrection, found scarcely any resistance. On Friday, 3d April, Guise marched out by

the Pausilippo road, with the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the island of Nisida, but wished to return to the city on the Sunday, the stormy weather having made the operation impracticable. The leaders of the people, almost certain of an early peace, refused to readmit him, saying,—It was not expedient to abandon so hastily an enterprise so nearly concluded. The royalists, having got rid of the Duke in this fashion, entered the city on the Monday morning about ten o'clock, through the gates of the Holy Ghost and our Saviour, to the number of 4000, of whom 500 or 600 were Spaniards, the rest Neapolitans from those parts of the city which had remained faithful. In two quarters alone they found resistance of a very insignificant description. All shortly joined in assisting them, and cried Live the King! The Spanish party were the first to lay down their arms in token of amity, and throw their hats into the air. No one of them used violence, for it was forbidden on pain of death, but the people plundered, indeed, the palace of the Duke of Guise. The Count Ognate and Don John of Austria paraded the city, making friendly salutations to all, up to the Church del Carmine, where they again gave security to the people for the execution of what had been promised. The bells were rung,

the cannons fired, and all cried out Peace! Peace! and tranquillity was restored and continued, to the admiration of every one.

Some Spanish soldiers who, on the following day, took away some things from the market and refused to pay for them, upon the first complaint, were sentenced to the galleys and the gallows. As soon as the people were aware of this severe proceeding, they took compassion, and, of their own accord, begged the Count Ognate to remit the sentences. Nor was any one allowed to call any one of the people rebel; the revolt had been no rebellion, but a justifiable self defence.

As soon as Guise, on the Monday morning, received information of the conclusion of the peace, he took to horse, with many of his people, and set off on his way towards Rome, but was taken prisoner near Capua on the 7th April.



house of the Auditor, Carlo Carola, who now enjoys unusual consideration, as since the closing of the courts of justice he is the only organ of the law. The Duke had alighted at the same residence, but was induced by Gennaro Annese to lodge at the Torrione del Carmine. The next morning I nearly lost my life, on my way to the Duke, in the press of the people, and in consequence did not accompany him to the Del Carmine church, but remained with several officers and captains in the ante-chamber of Annese. As they heard me here using strong expressions against the Spaniards, they fell upon the notion of raising me to the post of their Marechal de camp, and in spite of all my efforts to prevent them, Gennaro called back the council of war; they forced me into the assembly and gave me the principal seat. When Guise, returning from mass, entered, and saw me in this position, he was red as fire. I went up to him and told him what had taken place, and how I had been brought where he found me, almost by force. He dissembled his vexation, composed his countenance, and said he was much satisfied. At the close of the sitting, all the officers who had called me to the post of Marechal de camp said to Guise and Gennaro, that this appointment was earnestly desired by them, and that they wished the patent might be speedily made out.

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the French fleet. Finally I ove
tion, and he gave me the pen, th
a form of agreement, which ran
Republic had accepted the Kin
protector, but had invited the Du

army. He was to swear fidelity to the Republic, but to leave Naples so soon as the Republic should declare that it had no further need of his services. So soon as I had concluded this document, I pressed Gennaro forthwith to convene the council, that it might be read and approved by the members. When this had taken place, they called me, and made me take my seat on one side of the Duke, and Gennaro on the other. After my draft had been again read, the Duke presented me to the assembly as the King's servant, and received for answer that all were well pleased to honour in me a man sent from the King, and to whom they could apply in their need. I for my part received this honour without having sought for it, in the hope that it would afford me the opportunity of serving the King.

Guise at this time displayed his concurrence with every thing, but the Duke of Modena was scarcely arrived when circumstances were altered. They sought to keep me away from all affairs, and when the compact was to be printed for the Duke, I found the substance altered throughout from the draft which had been drawn by me and approved. Thus, for example, there was no mention left of the protectorship of the King, but so much the more was inserted respecting the obligations of the Republic towards the Duke. As I let fall a word on this sub-

ject to the Duke of Modena, he gave me for answer—" As nothing is now under discussion but an agreement between the Republic and the Duke, it is not necessary to say any thing of the King." An order was directly given out to silence the drummers, who thought to please us by drumming in the French fashion. To the solemnity of the taking of the oath by Guise, performed by the Cardinal Filomarini, I was not invited, but attended it only casually, and there was as little mention of the King of France in the oath as in the act before mentioned. Some, it is true, shouted through the streets, Live France! Live our most Christian King and the Republic!

At this solemnity, and down to the period of his fall, Gennaro always took the right hand, which the Duke's people could not understand. An old man pressed through all the crowd, and carried on his shoulder a picture of some former King of France. It was set up with great joy at the corner of a street, and all passers by took off their hats and saluted it.

On the same day another writing was published in the name of the republic; in the introduction of which it was stated that the republic had called on the King to be its protector, and the King had, through his ambassador at Rome, the Marquis of

Fontenay, undertaken the office, and dispatched the Duke of Guise for the defence of the Republic. This letter was read to the Duke in my presence by Francisco de Patti, whom you have all seen in Rome as envoy of the Republic. Guise, inasmuch as there was herein no mention of a compact between him and the Republic, but only of an acknowledgment of the republic, could not with decency reject the protectorship of the King; he therefore contented himself with denying that the King had sent him, and asserting that he had been rather invited by a special letter addressed to himself. I told him privately in his ear, he would probably raise dissension upon this in Rome, for in the letter addressed to the republic which he had brought from thence, it was expressly stated "*The King sends you the Duke of Guise.*" He repeated that the republic had invited him, and in this way was that recognition drawn up and printed. While this controversy was in progress, sonnets were distributed in honour of Guise, at the head of which was the inscription in great letters "Sent by the most Christian King hither for our defence."

On the following day the people stormed some barricades which Annese had to all appearance constructed against them. At this Annese fell into such fear that he besought the Duke to release him

from all concerns of the war department. Gui
appeased the sedition, and endeavoured to brin
over Pepe Palembo, a man of influence, and a gre
enemy of Annese, to the side of the latter.

Cerisantes, after recounting some military even
and complaining that Guise had refused to acknow
ledge certain distinguished services by him pe
formed, continues:—The Duke was obliged to thin
of means for aiding the republic, for there was a
absence of soldiers, money, powder, and provisions
and all supplies were cut off. He began to levy in
fantry, at his own cost, as he said; from the fund
of the republic, as others maintained. Under thi
pretence, and to exalt his own consideration, h
published the patents in his own name, and withou

Guise, however, and my adversaries maintained that they must first have carried through their views in Naples, and that I spoke as I did for the purpose of frustrating them. In any case there was here the greatest disorder and confusion. If I remarked that it was necessary to give the free state some form or other, their story ran, that I wanted only to weaken the power of Guise; if I appeased the suspicious Gennaro, they said I was the cause of his bad humour; if I pressed the expediency of sending reports to Rome, they held every pretext justifiable for preventing my pernicious views and judgments from reaching that quarter. In short, they employed against me every practicable artifice. To Gennaro I had in fact only said this: "That Guise would never encroach on the liberty of the republic; and supposing such a case possible, the King of France would be his first enemy."

I managed with great care to remain in the neighbourhood of the Duke in all his changes of residence, and (in opposition to the earlier convention) I was informed by the Duke of Modena:—It was necessary for him on account of his greater dignity, to eat alone, that I might take my place among the other gentlemen. I was silent, but caused the Duke to be told through my friends:—As it was not decent that I, being in employment of the King, should eat at

the table of his people, I requested him to all
that I might take my meals in my own cha
ber.

In respect of the dignity of marshal proposed
me for my acceptance, I had entreated Guise
keep it for his brother. Suddenly, however, it w
by Gennaro's means, made over to Mons. de M
dena, and it was set forth among other matter in t
patent, that this was done in regard of his relati
ship to the Queen of Poland. On my complaini
of this to the Duke, he answered: Gennaro had d
it without his knowledge. Then, I replied, Mode
has acted in the matter not with becoming resp
for his lord, nor as a gentleman with regard to n
self. Two hours later, however, Modena recei
from the Duke's hands a confirmation which

santes had looked to robbing him of the honour of his enterprize and transfer it to the King.

Finally they were reconciled, and Cerisantes received the chief command of the Calabrese who had recently arrived; who, however, were divided into little else than mutineers and deserters. Subsequent skirmishes deserve no particular mention. Cerisantes' account of one will serve as a specimen:—Paul of Naples plundered Avellino, at which place 200,000 dollars' booty fell to him and his companions, but nothing to the republic.

Had Gennaro (says Cerisantes) been in any degree firm and determined, Guise's plan for procuring his own nomination as Duke of the republic, would have brought him into great danger. Carlo Carola proposed that a clause should be inserted in the deed, saying that they exalted him as a Frenchman.

One evening as Guise was convoying provisions into the city, a meteor was observed to the left which divided itself into three clear lights. All exclaimed at once, An omen, An omen! The majority interpreted the sign, that Guise should be king of three kingdoms. Carlo Carola declared his opinion in favour of three lilies. No one, says Cerisantes, asked me for my opinion, and I gave it to none; but I believe in truth that if that appearance had any

signification at all, it portended that in the spring we should have three parties in Naples.

Guise has taken the sumptuous palace of Ferrante Caracciolo in the nobles' quarter, which the lower people took so ill that he was obliged, in order to appease them, to attend mass every other day in the church del Carmine. Gennaro, who still possesses much consideration among the people, keeps himself quiet in his Torrione; converses with Guise no where but in the church, and asserts that he cannot, for fear of being assassinated, pay visits in a quarter where so many of the nobility reside.

The Duke endeavours to bring things insensibly back to the state in which they were at the period when Naples was a kingdom, and pretends to reserve the establishment of a republic for the time when the Spaniards shall be expelled. In this manner he has put in action the criminal courts, and has forbidden every one on pain of rebellion to decline any public situation proposed to him. Many obeyed, but with reluctance, especially in cases where they had looked to offices of greater distinction.

When Guise goes out, the people now shout nothing but bread, bread! Nay, one exclaimed close to him: Bread or Spain. The Duke, notwithstanding, does not lose courage, and has an admirable

faculty for conversing with the discontented. The Spaniards draw their advantage from all these circumstances. Thus a priest and another were yesterday arrested in the act of dispersing a printed proclamation containing the promise in the name of Don John of Austria, of a general pardon so soon as Naples should submit once more to the Spanish authority.

LETTER XLIX.

Finances and Constitution of Venice.

THE history of Venice is in all respects of the gr
est interest, and deserves, notwithstanding the lab
already bestowed upon it, to be again investiga
from its original sources. Venice, however, itsel
far fitter as the theatre of such researches t
Paris, and we have reason to expect in that vi
that Ranke, with his well known erudition and

of 1618, four letters from Giacomo Pietro to the Duke of Ossuna, and a circumstantial description of the Venetian state, which the Spanish ambassador la Cueva, drew up in the year 1619, for Philip III.

I communicate two fragments of this volume upon the finances and constitution of Venice, which illustrate, in an instructive manner, the actual condition of that State at a period little considered by many writers of history.

A principal item of the revenue of Venice exists in the customs and the taxes on consumption of wine, flour, meat, salt, oil, spices, wax, soap, silks, jewellery, and many other articles. To these are added conveyances of lands, houses, and other immovable property. In this manner Venice pays altogether . . . . 1,797,792 ducats.

Padua	136,087
Vicenza	118,378
Verona	213,084
Brescia and its dependencies	337,693
Bergamo	104,730
Crema	37,526
Polasina	14,797
The March of Treriso . .	184,485
Istria	24,000
Frioul	52,764
Mare (tutti li stati di Mare)	837,966

If these revenues appear great, the outgoings ar no less so, nay more, and are occasioned principall by the neighbourhood of the Turkish power which makes it necessary to maintain many soldier and fortified places. The number of the forme amounts in an ordinary year to 10,000 infantry, an 700 cavalry.

There is, however, excellent order observed i the management of the expenditure. Its amount the sources from which it proceeds, the manner an kind of its distribution, the number of the agents employed, is previously laid down accurately i writing, and the following is to be gathered on the subject, according to the confidential report of a person well informed. For every principal head o expense there is an appointed revenue and a separate chest, which are never mixed up with others.

We find in the first place three superintendants o all the revenues, who with their clerks, officers o account, servants and under-officers occasion a yearly expense of some 1400 (14,000?) ducats.

2. The Chamberlains, the Proveditori, Censors, heads of the Quaranties and many other employés. 172,450

3. The building fund for the maintenance of the public edifices. . . 8,377

4. L. Officio degli bravi. Police-guard. 2,710

	Ducats.
5. The commandants of the strong places and the land force.	877,146
6. The Mint.	4,795
7. The office of the seven inspectors of the Rialto.	554
8. The office of firewood. . . .	780
9. The office of the butchers. . .	1,360
10. The office of the waters, for the dykes, deepening the shallows, &c. .	72,699
11. The office of fortifications. . .	25,983
12. Office for public processions and funerals, the Doge's chancery, and many expenses therewith connected. . . .	22,617
13. The Arsenal.	127,660
14. Purchases of all kinds for ditto. .	120,245
15. Pay for the fleet. . . .	267,396
16. Provisions for ditto. . . .	253,136
17. Clothing of the sailors . .	93,148
18. The Council of Ten, for expenses of many kinds, for ex^{e}, presents, rewards to strangers, secret commissions, police of safety, &c.	127,385
19. Tribute to the Sultan for Candia. .	7,550
Zante. .	500
Corfù. .	300
20. The Sultan, the Vizier, the Pachas receive besides considerable presents in	

gold, silver, silks, wool, purple stuffs, wax, which distributions, with others in the principal emporiums, Cairo, Alexandria, Aleppo, &c. amount annually to from 204,000 to 400,000 Ducats.

21. The garrisons of all the islands. . 200,000
22. The cavalry altogether. . . 81,000
23. Extraordinaries. 167,440
24. The chamber of loans to parties in distress. 40,000

The overplus, which ought to remain after the above expenses have been defrayed, is according to custom exhausted, partly by unforeseen or heavier expenses, partly by the dishonesty and frequent shifting of the public officers. There is nevertheless presumed to exist a reserved sum of some three millions for extreme danger or emergency.

There is no doubt that this exposition of the finances of Venice is taken from official sources, yet the smaller cyphers would lead us to conjecture that the document is less what we call a budget, or an estimate, than a positive account concluded for a past year.

We gather further,

1. That Venice raised at this time many and heavy taxes on consumption, and that the system of direct taxation was not prevalent in this commercial state.

2. The taxes immediately directed to affect the

nobility appear to have been small; there is moreover no doubt that a great part of all the others found its way into their hands.

3. The land force was by no means neglected, yet served principally for the protection of the possessions out of Italy. The burthen of opposing almost unsupported the overpowering force of the Turk, and of resisting at the same time the great European powers, was too much for the strength of the republic. It would have been far more honourable and salutary for those powers to have laid aside their brotherly strife among Christians, and to have joined the Venetians in opposing the fearful power of the Moslems, so destructive of true civilization. The naval force of the Venetians cost them great sums, but they might have doubled it, if they had been in condition to have refused the Turk tribute and presents. The thirty years' war, which, just at this period commenced in a lamentable fanaticism, gave a pernicious direction to the policy of all Christian states and to the activity of individuals, and exhausted the strength of central Europe, which, if united in the sense of the policy of the eleventh century, would have been sufficient to have driven back the Turk into Asia.

The second extract I make from Cueva's report concerns the constitution, and is as follows.

The Prince or Doge is head of the whole
Despite of this lofty title his power is much, r
much limited, that he dares not even open a
without the presence of one of his council. N
has he any court establishment. On the other
he wears a peculiar dress, (the description is omi
the bells of St. Mark are rung when he leave
palace, banners are carried before him and
trumpets of great size are sounded. Then fo
his golden chair, and a casket of state, lastl
Doge himself under a canopy, at his side two o
most eminent ambassadors, and, following him,
pairs of nobles dressed in red, the righthand m
the first couple bearing a sword.

All political power, and all the functions o
vernment are in the hands of some 140 fam
who number about 3000 members. Much jeal
exists between the old nobility and that n
elevated for merit or money, and in the elec
passion and family connection have often greate
fluence than sounder reasons.

The first of the political bodies, which ar
occupied by nobles, is the great council. E
noble who has verified his descent, and that he
reached the age of twenty-five, has the privile
entering this body, with respect to which the fo
ing proceeding takes place. On the day o

Barbara all who have completed their twentieth year assemble. Their names are placed in an urn, and in another are gold and silver balls. The Doge draws from each a name and a ball, and those for whom golden balls are drawn (of which there are about thirty) remain in the council. That body assembles on all Sundays and festivals, and numbers about 1400 members. All public officers in the state, are there chosen. The second council, that of the Pregadi, contains, besides 120 regular members, several additional persons and officers, some of whom however have merely the right of consultation and not of voting. Nearly all important state affairs are here discussed. Four councillors of the Doge and sixty members who have right of voting at least, must be present to enable the council to adopt a resolution.

The third body is the collegio so called, in which, besides the Doge, six councillors, and the three heads of the Quarantia, many officers of rank have seats and voices. The letters of foreign princes are here read, audiences given to ambassadors and matters of business prepared, which are afterwards to be submitted to the Pregadi.

The fourth important body, the Council of Ten, is subject to no other power, and can take under its consideration all public affairs. This happens, how-

ever, only in cases of the highest consequence, or where error or delay cannot be remedied. Thus for example, in questions of peace and war, secret treaties, punishment of revolt or treason, or, generally, where deliberation and decision cannot be conducted with sufficient secrecy and dispatch in the great council, or that of the Pregadi. Those who are accused in the Council of Ten, are not at liberty to defend themselves, or to conduct their defence by others; a member of the council, on the contrary, undertakes in every case this task. No appeal lies against its sentences, they can only be reversed by the Ten themselves, or by their successors.

It is true that this report of Cueva affords no new conclusions; nay, that much remains dubious and unmeaning. I have, however, given even what may seem unimportant, because it cannot be uninteresting to know how a Spanish ambassador of that period considered the establishments of Venice.

I give in addition a passage from a report of the French ambassador, Mortier. He writes, Jan. 24, 1547 *:—They have here, in Venice, on account of frequent acts of treachery, forbidden all intercourse between the nobles and the foreign ambassadors. I am excluded from the conversation of all and every

* Bibl. Roy. p. 8483. 8484. Mortier dêpeches.

of them, and since the mistake, in the time of Monsieur de Montpellier, they consider the French as men of levity, of little reflection, and babblers, and the wisest and most experienced among them are the shyest to enter into any connexion with us. They moreover increase every day the severity of that law; those in power know the nature of their people, who are covetous, and prone to let themselves be tampered with.

In another place he asserts:—The Venetians will not enter into any closer intercourse with us. They maintain that every alliance with France or Austria has only drawn upon them loss, great expenses, new taxes, marriages and peaces at their expense, destruction of trade, &c. They do not give much ear to our charges against Charles V., and say he is employed elsewhere, and has no thoughts of subjugating them; that, moreover, every defensive alliance ends in offence.

LETTER L.

Upon Cardinal Wolsey, and his secretaries, **Stephen Gardiner** and Cromwell. — Cromwell and **Cardinal Pole.** — **Anne** of Cleves.—Marriage and divorce.—**Catherine Howard.**

THE conduct of Henry VIII., whether considered with reference to the administration of his own dominions, or with relation to foreign powers, was at no period above censure, but became, subsequent to



and too arrogant opinions. Would we, however, judge him with due reference to all his qualities, we must confess that he was wanting neither in understanding nor penetration, nor in other qualities requisite in so exalted a situation. He possessed prudence and liveliness of intellect—strength and energy enough to go to the bottom of all public affairs; and conducted them all with such success, that no state was richer and more flourishing than England, no King more respected than Henry VIII., so long as the Cardinal was at the head of affairs. Twice he decided on the differences between the Emperor and the King of France, and was paid court to by the ministers of both those sovereigns, as if they had been servants of the King of England, and every one sought to conciliate him, with a view to gaining his own ends. In proof of his pride, it is related, that he caused himself to be served upon the knee by English lords, and allowed himself the use of haughty and contemptuous expressions towards foreign ambassadors. It is certain that all, on their return home, spoke of the pomp and the glory, as well as of the pride and the arrogance, of the Cardinal of York.

The Cardinal had two secretaries, the Doctor Stephen (Gardiner) and Cromwell. The former was well versed in civil and ecclesiastical law, as well as

in the Scriptures, and in other respects after the usual fashion of the English, arrogant and obstinate. He was sent by Wolsey to Rome, in order to bring about the divorce of Henry VIII. from his wife Catherine. I was told by several upon this, that the Doctor had received a double commission, to pretend one thing and work for another, which instruction he betrayed to the King, out of which flowed hatred and mistrust between the latter and Wolsey. After Wolsey's death the King raised Stephen to the Bishoprick of Winchester, sent him as ambassador to France, and placed him on his return in the privy council, and consulted him in the weightiest concerns.

Wolsey's second secretary, Thomas Cromwell, was a man of humble origin, and drove, as it is said, in his earlier years, the trade of a tailor. He soon after became a soldier, shewed himself brave and of great heart, travelled over Italy to inform himself, and saw during his stay in Rome so many abuses, that he afterwards strengthened Henry VIII. in his disinclination towards the papal court, and in the desire to tear away himself and his realm from under the influence of the church. Cromwell for the rest served the Cardinal with unimpeachable fidelity, stedfastly refused to bear witness against him, and defended him with the greatest firmness, in defiance of menace

and persecution. By this conduct he raised in the mind of the King the highest opinion of his fidelity, and having taken Dr. Stephen into his service because he had betrayed the secrets of Wolsey, he did the same by Cromwell because he had made no such discoveries. Cromwell by his dexterity rose so soon into favour with the King, that he acquired the management of all affairs, and no less power than the Cardinal himself had enjoyed. I have seen him (says the reporter) as familiar with the King as though he had been of his blood, which raised much envy against him on the part of the great.

Cromwell, however, understood no better than Wolsey how to maintain grandeur and dignity of position in relation to the tyrant King. He gave a counsel to the Cardinal Pole, says the French author, and said:—Every one who undertakes the conduct of the King's affairs, must diligently seek out the object to which his master is looking, and must adroitly conform himself thereto, and avoid above all things obstinately to oppose him; for princes choose not to be overcome by any one but themselves, and when they have once taken their bias in any direction are not to be guided by arguments to the contrary; by contradiction we gain nothing but their disfavour. Pole quoted Plato to demonstrate the iniquity of these conclusions, and told Cromwell:—

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nal Pole, says the French author,
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must diligently seek out the
master is looking, and must
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o oppose him; for princes
e by any one but themselves,
taken their bias in any di-
ided by arguments to the
we gain nothing but their
Plato to demonstrate the
s, and told Cromwell:—

ion. By this conduct he raised in the King the highest opinion of his fidelity, ken Dr. Stephen into his service betrayed the secrets of Wolsey, he did omwell because he had made no such romwell by his dexterity rose so soon the King, that he acquired the maffairs, and no less power than the had enjoyed. I have seen him) as familiar with the King as of his blood, which raised much the part of the great.

er, understood no better than intain grandeur and dignity of the tyrant King. He gave a al Pole, says the French author, who undertakes the conduct must diligently seek out the master is looking, and must self thereto, and avoid above to oppose him; for princes ne by any one but themselves, ce taken their bias in any diguided by arguments to the ion we gain nothing but their ed Plato to der the sions, and tol

She is tall and of such steady deportment, that it is thought by understanding and vivacity she will make up for a somewhat deficient allowance of beauty. She has brought with her from twelve to fifteen ladies, all of whom, in regard of external appearance, are yet inferior to herself, and are so clumsily and unbecomingly dressed that they would be thought hideous even if they were handsome*.

Marillac relates of the subsequent well known occurrences:—Anne, by no means opposes the divorce, which pleases the King the more, because, as is said, his new passion (amourette) is already with child. The other is now called shortly, Madam Anne of Cleves. She is any thing but low in spirits, occupies her time in every possible manner, and attires herself daily in new garments of wonderful pattern. All this indicates admirable prudence and dissimulation, or else excessive simplicity and stupidity.

The new Queen Catherine Howard, writes Marillac, Sept. 3d, is of moderate beauty, but of very at-

* Despatch of July 21, August 11, and September 3. Anne knew nothing of music: for Wootton writes,—In Germany it is thought a rebuke and an occasion of lightnesse that great ladies should be lernyed or have any knowlege of music. Ellis. II. 122.

It is notorious, that the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves was a main cause of the fall of Cromwell. The reports of the French ambassador contain interesting particulars on this subject *. He writes, Jan. 5, 1540, to Francis I:—On last Friday, Jan. 2, it was publicly proclaimed in London, that all who loved the King should come the next day to Greenwich, and meet Madam Anna of Cleves, who was to be their Queen. The ambassadors were invited likewise to the banquet, which proceeded with the greatest solemnity, wonderful quietness, and without any confusion. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk went out five miles to meet her, and the King and the rest of the court as far as an appointed distance. Anne, dressed in the fashion of her country, was received very cordially by the King, and conducted into her richly adorned apartment. She is some thirty years of age, tall and strong, of moderate beauty, and of a very assured and resolute countenance.

Marillac, in a letter to the Constable Montmorenci, adds:—Anne is not found so young nor so comely as all accounts had announced her to be.

* Marillac depêches d'Angleterre adressées au roi et au connetable Montmorency. Anno 1539, 1540. Bibl. Roy. MSS. 8481, fol.

LETTER LI.

Manners of the English Court.—Edward VI.—Character of the English. — Education. — Hunting. —Women. — Servants, &c. &c.

Among the MSS. in the library, formerly that of St. Germain des Prés, is a description of England in the year 1551, drawn up by an eye-witness, the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini*.



laughable. I have seen, for example, the Princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, before she took her place. The same kneeling takes place before any one addresses the King, and if the lords of the court are less strict in this observance, their security grows out of the youth of the King, and they would not have omitted it with his father, with whom no one spoke otherwise than on his knee.

Edward VI. loves to dress himself in red, white, and violet. The last named colour is so far appropriated by him that no one but himself dares to wear a hat of that hue. His livery, on the other hand, is green and white. As the English commonly attire themselves well and spend much on their clothes, Edward, in the same manner, (although he falls far short of his father in this respect,) constantly wears on all his garments embroideries of gold, silver, and pearls! He has a good demeanour, a royal appearance, much grace and dignity in every transaction, and is affable and liberal to the people.

Ubaldini mentions here the custom of making presents to the King on new-year's day, and gives detailed enough accounts of laws, authorities, military and naval force, religion, &c., but nothing new; he then passes on to the more general features of

the English character, from wl
following.

The Englanders universally sp
They eat often and sit full two, t
table, not so much for the purp
eating, as for that of agreeable cor
ladies, without whose company
place. They are disinclined to ex
little that the produce barely suffic
by reason of which they eat little l
the more meat, which they have of
fect quality. Puddings and chees
forthcoming, for numberless herd
night in the most fertile district
wolves, but many deer, wild boars
They are much addicted to the ch

preserve or improve this natural complexion the latter let blood twice or three times in the year, instead of painting themselves like the Italian women.

The men are by nature obstinate, so that if any one be obliged to contradict them, it is necessary not to thrust at first but to shew them his reasons by degrees, which they then, by their good abilities, are quick to appreciate. Many not being aware of this feature in the English character have made a bad affair of it with people so suspicious.

The inferior classes in the towns and a part of the peasantry are averse to foreigners, and think that no state in the world is worth any thing after their own; yet they are set right in such absurd notions by those who have better understanding and experience. It is, however, on this account not advisable for foreigners to travel about the country, because they are apt to enquire whether their countrymen are well or ill received in the traveller's country. If, however, he have with him a royal pass, he is every where well received, and is, moreover, forwarded with the horses kept for the royal service, or is enabled in case of need to require horses from private persons.

In the above respect the behaviour of the highest classes is altogether different, for there is no lord in

the country who is not fond of having about him foreign servants and gentlemen, to whom they give a liberal treatment; and the King himself has many Italians and Spaniards of various occupations in his service. These are much in favour with the courtiers, who are fond of learning French and Italian, and study the sciences. The rich cause their sons and daughters to learn Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for since this storm of heresy has invaded the land, they hold it useful to read the scriptures in the original tongue. The poorer, who cannot give their children a scientific education, are unwilling to appear ignorant or altogether strangers to refinement; they therefore dress themselves on Sundays and holidays well, nay better tha nis becoming their station and pursuits. Men and women wear generally fine

married persons stand contracted with another man or woman before their own husband or wife is dead. In childbed the women keep state with very white linen; some rise very soon, but go to church at the end only of twenty days, to return thanks.

LETTER LII.

Trial and execution of the Duke of Somerset.—The Duke of Northumberland; his Character and Death.—Characters of the Queens Mary and Elizabeth.

KING Henry VIII. of England was succeeded by his son Edward VI., under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, the Duke of Somerset. A cotemporary * writer gives the following account of the trial

tools of Somerset, were at work, giving it to be understood that the measure had been adopted against his wishes, and that if his advice had been followed, much would have fallen out otherwise than it did. Somerset, also, in conjunction with Arundel, and others of the discontented and envious, projected the plan of demonstrating in the next Parliament, that the kingdom was ill administered and the people oppressed with fresh taxes, the King poorer than ever, and that no public servant received his just salary; that those in power governed simply after their own caprice, without observing the laws or customs of the realm. A Mr. Palmer was privy to this conspiracy to whom Somerset had always shown great friendship, and procured great advantages. He nevertheless forgot gratitude and honour, whether out of cowardice or some ground of dissatisfaction; he discovered the conspiracy to the Duke of Northumberland, who anticipated the plotters and overthrew them. Palmer, before his death, repented of his conduct and declared, "he had never given evidence that Somerset was seeking the life of Northumberland;" he also caused the little children of Somerset to be brought to him and kissed them.

High and low feared Northumberland to that degree, that they vied with one another to do him pleasure. No man, on the other hand, ventured to

undertake or maintain anything against
In his exterior he shewed himself affable, n
passionate, but within he was the most
proud, and felon (félon) of men. In his h
in all transactions, fond of pomp, and libe
latter quality was not, however, exercised b
disposition and without an object; his g
distributed with cunning, and only amo
whose favour he wished to win and such
either injure or serve him.

In his youth he was of all men the most
foot and on horseback, in fencing, running
and archery. He had raised such an op
himself in the mind of the King, that the
spected him as though he had been the Du
ject, and did, as if of his own impulse, eve
which Northumberland desired, only to ple
From fear of exciting jealousy, should it b
how much he interfered in every thing, he
all affairs in which he would not be seen to
to be set going by one Gaz *, a chamberla
also brought him information of all conv
which passed about the King. For this
always in the royal chamber, and was believe

* Sir John Gates, executed with Northumberlan
reign of Mary. [Tr.]

one of those who mainly instigated the King to make a will against his sister, Mary Tudor.

Northumberland used to visit the King by night, when he could not be seen and all were asleep. In the mornings, Edward entered the council, and brought matters forward as if they proceeded from himself and were of his own motion, to the astonishment of many.

When Northumberland was afterwards sentenced to death, he called to him the Bishop of Winchester, and said to him:—You, although devoted to a peaceful calling, have often confronted death without fear; I, on the contrary, who as a soldier ought to despise and have so often despised every danger, lose my courage now that my sentence is shewn me, and am so beside myself that I can think of nothing, cannot determine myself, cannot imagine how I can bear my death with patience. This man, once so proud, condescended to the most earnest supplications that the Queen would grant him his life, would award to him the most humble conditions of existence, &c. This all being in vain, he at length took courage, and confessed in the Catholic fashion, avowing that he had favoured the new doctrine to win favour from the court and people, not out of inward conviction. No guilt, he said, pressed so heavily on his conscience as that of his intrigues

against Somerset. That he had
bitious and crafty of men upon
ings had had no other object th
and to ruin others.

To these accounts I append
an eye-witness, John Michele,
Mary and the Princess Elizabeth
Mary Tudor is rather of little th
thin and delicately formed, lively
a strong, deep voice like that of
is heard from a distance, extr
sewing, embroidery, and other
finished and able a performer o
professors are astonished. Her p
domestic, often throw her into
She is vexed about her husband

woman who is considered as not less remarkable for the graces of the mind than for those of the body, although it may be said that her countenance is rather pleasing than beautiful. In figure, she is tall, well shaped, her flesh well to look on, though tending to olive in complexion; fine eyes, and, above all, a beautiful hand, which she seeks to display. Her spirit and intellect are admirable, so that she has known how to conduct herself, displaying both in times of suspicion and peril. She surpasses the Queen in knowledge of languages, for, besides knowing Latin, and Greek to a moderate extent, she understands Italian better than the Queen, and takes so much pleasure in the latter language, that she will converse in no other tongue with natives of Italy. She is proud, and considers herself (although aware what sort of mother bore her) as no less or less worthy than the Queen. Henry VIII. had set apart for her an annual income of 10,000 ducats. She would consume much more, and incur great debts, if she did not purposely, to avoid increasing the suspicions of the Queen, limit her household and attendance; for there is not a lord or gentleman in the realm who has not sought to place himself, or a brother or son in her service. So great is thus the affection and good will which is shewn her, by which, in one way or another, her expenses are in-

creased, although she opposes her poverty to the proposed enlargements of her establishment, which crafty excuse, however, merely increases her party of hangers on; it being considered not only unusual, but in the highest degree unbecoming, that a king's daughter should be so hardly dealt with, and so ill maintained.

She is to appearance at liberty in her country residence, twelve miles from London, in fact, however, surrounded with spies and shut in with guards, so that no one comes or goes, nothing is spoken or done without the Queen's knowledge.

Elizabeth knew by her skilful conduct so to win the favour of the Spaniards and Philip, that he made opposition when Mary would fain, through the Parliament, have declared her illegitimate. He made equal resistance against her being conveyed to Spain or some other foreign country.

The Queen would willingly bring her to punishment in recollection of former occurrences, and because Elizabeth or some of her servants, is named in every conspiracy; but she fears the anger of the King, as also a revolt of the people. For these reasons she suppresses her anger and hate, and forces herself when she meets her sister to treat her with respect and civility.

The despatches of the Imperial Ambassador in

England, Renaud, preserved in Cardinal Granvelle's collection at Besançon of the years 1553 and 1555, relate that Charles V. conceded indeed to Mary the right to adhere to her own faith, but advised her to show more mildness and prudence in religious matters, to avoid thereby irritating the people and nobility *. The suggestion of Granvelle, that it were well Elizabeth should take up her residence in Brussels, appears to have led to no consequences. Renaud, however, bears full testimony to the great joy of the people upon her release from prison, and to Mary's consequent disgust. For the rest, Renaud was much hated, and it was imputed to him that he had brought over strangers and popery to England.

May 20, 1560, Granvelle writes to Philip:—If your majesty, and we on the part of the Netherlands, had not told the French that we would never suffer them to set foot on England, attempts of that kind might well have been made †. In June, 1664, according to Granvelle's papers, a plan was under discussion for effecting the fall of Elizabeth then Queen, by aid of the Scots ‡.

* Ambassades de Renard, Vol. III. The first negociation for Philip's marriage is of August 4, 1553.

† Memoires de Granvelle, Vol. VI. p. 166.

‡ Ib. Vol. XII. p. 161.

LETTER LIII.

Elizabeth and Mary Stuart.—Marriage proposals of Charles IX.—Elizabeth's answer in refusal.—Leicester's pretensions and hopes.—The Archduke Charles.—Mary Stuart and Elizabeth.—Darnley.—Rizio's Assassination.

You may easily imagine that my great interest in every thing concerning Elizabeth of England and Mary of Scotland has led me to neglect no means of making discoveries respecting them in the Paris MSS. My trouble has not been unrewarded with results. Reports of the French ministers in London and Edinburgh, instructions for the English embassies in Paris, autograph letters of both Queens, &c. tell us it is true of no positively new or unheard of transactions, but afford us so many more accurate views, conclusions, and corrections, that I scarcely know how to dispose my extracts, whether to relate events in the order of their occurrence as to time, or to separate one source of information from another.

Perhaps a middle course may be the best to adopt and pursue.

The first source I have to explore is the despatches of Monsieur de Foys *, during the period of his redence as French Ambassador in England and Scotland in the years 1564, 5 and 6. He had received instructions from Catherine of Medicis, to bring about if possible the marriage of Charles IX. with Elizabeth, or, if this should fail, to favour the claims and wishes of Leicester, in order that no foreign and more powerful prince should become King of England. According to Foy's report, (undated,) Elizabeth answered †, I find myself on the one hand, much honoured by the proposal of the French king, on the other, I am older than he, and would rather die than see myself one day despised and neglected. On the part of my subjects, on the other hand, no obstacle exists, for I am assured they would conform to my wishes, and they have more than once prayed me to marry after my own inclination. It is true they have added that it would pleasure them that my choice should fall on an Englishman; in England, however, there is none but the Earl of Arundel so

* Extrait des depêches de l'ambassadeur de France en Angleterre. Le Foys MSS. St. Germain, 740.

† The negociation fell out in the year 1565.

disposable in marriage, and he is further removed from the match, than the east from the west, and as to the Earl of Leicester, I have always loved his virtues, but the aspiration towards honour and greatness which is in me cannot suffer him as a companion and husband. My neighbour, Mary Stuart, added the Queen, laughing, is younger than I am, she will perhaps better please the King *. The ambassador replied:—This has never been spoken of, she having been the wife of his brother. Several persons, said Elizabeth to this, among others Lethington, have tried to persuade me that such a plan was in agitation, but I well knew that there was nothing in it.

Some days later Elizabeth again summoned the ambassador to her presence and told him, she found three

existence. 2. The King would not be able to live in England, nor she in France. 3. The English dread the power and influence of the French. Monsiéur de Foys endeavoured to confute these grounds, but Elizabeth first protracted and finally broke off the negociation.

Soon after, August 22, 1565, Foys wrote to Queen Catherine:—In order to favour the Earl Leicester in all respects, as I was instructed by your majesty, I told Queen Elizabeth that she could do nothing better for the welfare, repose, and content of her kingdom, than marry with one of the great men of England; moreover, she would do wrong by the King and your majesty, where she to choose another foreign prince, inasmuch as her rejection of the proposals of the King was mainly grounded on the allegation that a foreigner would be unwelcome to the English. Elizabeth answered very courteously: I am not yet decided whom to marry. Whoever he may be, even if he be not a man of great means, he must obtain much power by the match, and become able, if he will, to conduct pernicious schemes. For this reason I am determined to concede to my husband that is to be, no jot of my power, goods or means, but to use him merely for the purpose of leaving successors behind me for my subjects' sake. Although you thus exhort me, to choose one of my

other projects, upon which I will ever give you my hand, and not only keep you where you are, but take care for your further elevation as you deserve, and as the public service and welfare thoroughly require. Cecil promised to do this, and thanked him for his good opinion and the disposition which the Earl appeared to entertain towards him. In any case, said Foys further, these words shew how confidently Leicester hopes to marry the Queen; for some time since he would not have dared utter a wish to that effect. What strengthens me in this opinion further, is this, that when I very lately praised aloud the virtues and services of the Earl, and remarked that your Majesties (Charles and Catherine) would approve and favour the match, the Queen merely answered:—She thanked them greatly; without, as on other occasions, entering on the difficulties of the case. I said also, your Majesty would see with pleasure that the Queen despatched Leicester to France, and that the latter had besought me to represent this to her. (It is probable that this request was made in consequence of a quarrel which had taken place between the Queen and Leicester, she was now, however, angry that her favourite should wish to absent himself.) She called, says Foys, the Earl to her presence and asked him, "did he wish to go to France?" He replied - 'was it

earnest or did he wish to embarrass the Queen?)—he humbly requested permission to that effect, for it was one of the things he most desired. The Queen replied that it would do him (the King?) no great honour to send a groom to so great a prince (!) She then added laughing:—I cannot live without seeing him every day. He is like my lap-dog, so soon as he is seen any where, they say I am at hand, and wherever he is seen it may be said I am there also. Knowing as I do, says Foys, how little constant she is in her views and resolutions, I can come to no certainty in these matters.

Three weeks later, December 19, 1565, Foys writes:—Leicester has pressed the Queen hard to decide by Christmas upon her marriage. She, on the other hand, has entreated him to wait till Candlemass. I know from a good hand, and have also learnt from other trustworthy persons, that she has promised him marriage before witnesses. Nevertheless, if she chooses to release herself from such promise, no one will summon her to justice, or bear witness against her.

Candlemass passed over without a decision, and Foys writes, March 20:—The Earl of Ormond is in great favour with Elizabeth, although he is deficient in spirit and ability to maintain his position, Leicester is nevertheless anxious.

A more dangerous rival unquestionably was the Archduke Charles of Austria, against whom the French ambassador endeavoured to excite the Queen, by the observation that he would find it necessary to derive his maintenance from her. Another argument adduced by the French ambassador Fourquevaulx, was of more consequence *. Charles, says he, is so foolishly in love with a woman with whom he lives, and who has borne him children, that he will hardly marry the Queen.

Upon Leicester's position and views we find the following information in an interesting despatch of the French ambassador, La Foret, August 6, 1566 †. The Earl has admitted to me, laughing and sighing at the same time; that he knows not what to hope or fear; that he is more uncertain than ever, whether she wishes to marry him or not; and even if she do, she has so many and so great princes for suitors, that he knows not what to think, &c. Speaking more openly afterwards, he said—" I believe not in truth that the Queen will ever marry. I have known her from her eighth year better than any man upon earth. From that date she has ever declared without alteration that she would remain unmarried.

* Letter of December 24, 1568. St. Germain, Vol. 790.

† La Foret, depêches, Do. 739.

Should she, however, by any chance, alter tha
termination, and decide in favour of an English
I am all but convinced she would choose no
than myself. At least the Queen has often done
the honour to say as much to me aloud, and I a
much in her favour as ever."

Pass we now to Mary Stuart, of whom the ea
accounts I have discovered, are of an highly c
ful description. She devotes, says Foys, e
morning to the chase, and every evening to balls
masquerades; which gives great offence to the
ritans*. At this time she was on good terms
Elizabeth; she writes at least to her ambass
Glasgow in Paris, October 11, 1564†:—Randa
brought me the most polite letters in the world
the Queen, Elizabeth. November 2, of the
year, she writes to the same:—I have sent Mel
London to make my excuses to Elizabeth for ce
letters which I had addressed to her, and whicl
appeared to her too rude. She has taken m
planation in good part.

These courtesies did not meanwhile remov

* At 1164. St. Germain, 740.

† Lettres de Marie Stuart à son ambassadeur Glas
France. MSS. in the library of Aix near Marseilles, No.
quarto. It nowhere appears where the originals exist.

points of contention between the parties, and Elizabeth said to the French ambassador Foys *—"There are two things in the way of a full reconciliation with the Queen of Scots: first that she will not confess she has offended me; secondly that she is about, as I foresee, to demand of me somewhat which I cannot grant, because it is more dangerous and pernicious to me than it is convenient and advantageous for her." This question of the right of succession of Mary was the more unacceptable, when she formed the project of espousing her cousin Darnley, and thereby doubling, as appeared to many, her claims. Not only her half brother the Earl Murray to whom she had trusted in all great matters, opposed the match, but Elizabeth raised, as is well known, still louder objections †. De Foys, who knew this, and was willing to take the part of Mary, found Elizabeth at chess, and said, profiting by the opportunity ‡:—This game is an image of the words and deeds of men. If for example we lose a pawn, it seems but a small matter, nevertheless the loss often draws after it that of the whole game. The Queen replied:—I understand you, Darnley is but a

* Report of December 22, 1566.

† Report of Foys, October 1565.

‡ Report without date. St. Germain, 740.

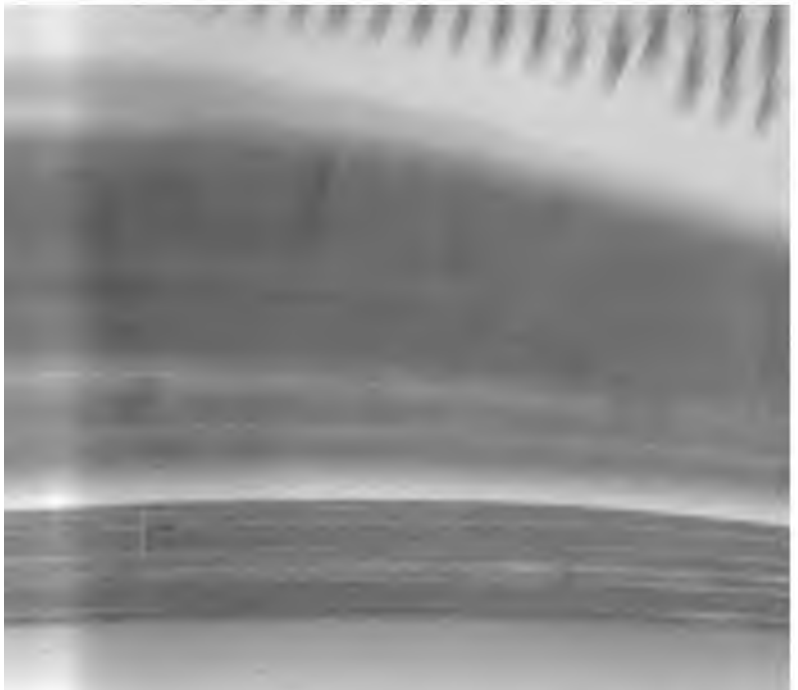
pawn, but may well checkmate me if I do not take care. After these words she left off playing, complained much of the disloyalty of the Earl and his son, and made evident her intentions to deal roughly by them if possible. Disregarding the opposition of Elizabeth and Murray, Mary married Darnley, July 29, 1565, failed however utterly in deriving from this marriage the happiness she expected, and at length the murder of Rizio made the quarrel with her husband irreconcileable *. In a report of March 20, Foys relates the occurrence in the following manner.—The King was eating in a lower chamber and with him the Lords Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others. After the meal he caused enquiry to be made as to who was with the Queen, who had eaten in a chamber above that of the King. Upon the answer, that David Rizio and the Countess of Argyle were with the Queen, the King immediately ascended to her apartment with the three abovementioned lords; he saluted and kissed her, paying her honour, and not omitting his accustomed caresses. Rizio, however, who had some

* Elizabeth said to Foys: Comme le Comte de Murray voulait faire pendre David que Marie amait et favorisait et lui donna plus de credit et d'autorité que les affaires et honneur ne demandait. October 1555.

presentiment of the impending danger, and feared the companions of the King, withdrew himself into a corner of the chamber towards the door of a closet. At the same moment the Queen observed that some of those who had entered were armed and were drawing near to Rizio, on which account she cried out, demanding what they were about to do, and whether they wished to kill her? The King and all the others replied to this:—They were ready to offer their lives for hers, but Rizio they would take and so chastise, as he deserved. Instead of this Ruthven drew a dagger to stab him; the Queen however seized his arm and shielded her favourite from this blow. The King now tore him loose from her, dragged him into the next chamber, and struck him the first blow with his dagger, upon which several others completed the taking of his life.

Such an alarm meanwhile was raised in the palace, that the Earls Bothwell, Huntly and Lethington fled in fear, without learning the cause of the tumult. The next day Earl Murray with his followers entered *Lisleburgh* *, and paid his obeisance to the King and Queen, who thanked him cordially, but soon, seeing themselves surrounded by so many armed men, proceeded with a few followers

* Edinburgh? [Tr.]



into her service as private secretary a brother of Rizio, an insignificant youth of eighteen, and, as it seems, means much to advance him.

Among the causes of the murder of Rizio, two are principally brought forward in letters to Queen Elizabeth. The first, that the King some days before, at about one in the morning, had knocked at the door of the Queen's bed chamber, but received no answer. Hereupon he cried aloud and begged Mary to open the door, but in vain. Finally he threatened to break in the door, and found the Queen, when she admitted him, alone in her room. Seeking however in every quarter, he discovered Rizio in a cabinet, who had thrown a dressing gown over himself, but in other respects stripped to the shirt. This has been the principal cause of the murder.—The second was that Mary would on no condition allow her husband to be crowned King, and rejected almost every prayer which he addressed to her to that purpose. He believed now, that all this was in pursuance of the advice of Rizio, and the Earls and Lords had similar grounds of late from causes relating to themselves. So far the reports of Foys upon these events.

LETTER LIV.

Mary and Darnley.—Birth of James.—Du Croc's diplomatic reports.—Murder of Darnley.—Marriage with Bothwell.—Misery of Mary.—War.—Imprisonment.

No true reconciliation ever took place between Darnley and Mary after Rizio's death; nay, so great was their alienation, that the Queen would not even summon her husband to the baptism of her son

our son, by which I shall be the more bound to gratitude for all his favours shown me, and shall ever be ready to serve him in every honourable fashion. Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. In great haste. Your very obedient nephew*.

This letter may be authentic, and the King nevertheless not have been invited to the christening of his son. The best and most instructive mass of information respecting these times, down to the flight of the Queen into England, must have been to be found in the reports of the French ambassador in Scotland, Du Croc. I have unfortunately discovered nothing but fragments of them, and those in so illegible a hand-writing, that, in spite of every exertion, and the assistance of many skilful friends, I have been unable yet fully to decipher them†. I communicate, however, as much as I have been able to extract. The fragments begin from immediately after Darnley's murder, and shew that the ambassador was informed of the crime; but in the reports which have undergone my perusal, he says nothing positive of the participation of Mary. It is certain that Darnley (considering himself as unfortunate and

* Among the letters of Mary in the library at Aix.

† St. Germain MSS. 740 and 228.

despised) had entertained the design of quittin
land, without regard to the representations
Ambassador and the Queen.

Croc refused (doubtless in pursuance of th
mands of his court) either to attend the marri
Mary with Bothwell or to acknowledge him
husband. He wrote soon after to Queen Cat
of Medici :—Madam ; The letters which I sen
Majesty through the Bishop are intended to be
yet you may believe that I confide in him, alt
I write, that you could not do better than r
him ill, and condemn the marriage. It is, in
too calamitous, and is already repented of.
Queen sent for me on Thursday, when I per
something extraordinary between her and her

here, for he is too much hated in this realm, and, moreover, it will be ever believed that the death of the King was his work.

The conspiracy directed against him by the nobles was also soon so powerful, that Croc reports:—The following day, June 5th, at ten o'clock in the evening, the Queen secretly dressed herself in man's attire, mounted a horse, and started on the road from Borthwick towards Dunbar, where she arrived at about three A.M., after having sat upon a common saddle the entire journey, and having met with the Duke on the way. She was soon, however, by the increasing danger, compelled to leave this castle also, and found herself suddenly in the face of the army of the nobles. At last, (Croc proceeds,) she found it necessary to despatch the Baron Langton and M. de Tresbrouin with the declaration, that the Duke was ready, for prevention of bloodshed, to enter into single combat, for which the Baron Tullibardine also offered himself. Bothwell evinced alacrity, and commenced arming himself. The Queen, however, informed of the circumstances, refused positively to permit that her husband should fight with one of inferior rank, and a traitor to boot. The friends and relations of Bothwell were hereupon of opinion, that if an earl or lord of high station should accept the combat, he and every one ought

to entreat the Queen for her consent. This declaration being conveyed to the enemy, my Lord Lindsay determined to undertake the combat. He hereupon laid aside his armour, took refreshment, then fell on his knee, in the presence of the whole army, and prayed that God in his mercy might protect the innocent, but might punish according to his justice, the guilty murderer of the King.

The Queen refused however afterwards, as before, to allow the combat, and for this or other reasons it did not take place. The enemy, however, (says Croc,) being very superior, Bothwell fell into great terror, and at last asked the Queen whether she would abide by the promise she had made him? She answered in the affirmative, and gave him her hand upon it. He now took to horse, and escaped with a few companions. The Queen, on the other hand, was conveyed to Edinburgh, where she arrived at about ten in the evening. On the road, my Lord Lindsay made her the most violent reproaches with respect to her great fury, both as to the past and present, to which she lacked any ready reply. Although the Queen had eat nothing for twenty-four hours, she could not yet touch a morsel, but betook herself to her chamber, after saying some hard words to the Earls of Athol and Morton. The next morning she found herself watched like a prisoner, so that

none of her servants had access to her. In the night, she went to her chamber window and cried for help, and the following day she repeated this before all the people so long together, that the Lords were informed thereof, and sought to appease her with friendly language, &c.

In another report Croc says:—I expected that the Queen would seek to appease her enemies, and to gain them over by softness. On the contrary, however, she spoke, on her arrival at Edinburgh, of nothing but hanging and crucifying them all, and proceeds constantly in the same fashion, which drives every one to extremity. For they feared, lest, in the moment of her liberation, she should hasten to Bothwell, and begin every thing anew; for this reason, she was brought in the night to Lochleven. I said to Lethington, they would have more difficulty in guarding her than in taking her prisoner, and feared they would, upon finding themselves the weaker, seek for English aid, which must occasion the King of France to take the part of Mary. He swore upon this by his God, that they as yet were in alliance neither with Elizabeth nor any foreign power.

Lethington said to me, the Queen had called him aside, to represent to him what wrong they did her in choosing to separate her from her husband, with whom she had thought to live and die in great hap-

piness. He answered:—" We are far from thin
that we do any thing unacceptable to you in
rating you from him you call your husband; no
on the contrary can contribute so much to
peace, honour, and content. Has not Both
since your marriage, written repeatedly to his fo
wife? He has held her ever for his real spouse
your Majesty for his concubine." Mary maint
that this was false, as his letters addressed to h
would shew; but, added Lethington,—we are
of us in doubt that he loves his former wife more
the Queen. Lethington also told me that fro
day after the marriage, Mary's tears and lamenta
had no end. For Bothwell would not allow,
she should see or be seen of any one, for he
knew that she loved her pleasure and had pu
her pastime as much as any woman in the wo
The end of Mary's speech was, that as she was
to extremity, she prayed for nothing but to b
on shipboard with her husband to drift wher
fortune might lead her. Lethington said, that
well, if both betook themselves not to France.
swered, on the other hand—I wished that they
both there, where the King might judge of the

* Qu'il savait bien, qu'elle aimait son plaisir et a pass
temps autant qu'une autre du monde.

upon their merits; for these unhappy facts are but too well proved*.

* Je lui dis au contraire, que je voudrais, qu'ils y fussent et le roi en jugerait comme les faits le meritent; car ces malheureux faits sont trop prouvés.

Mary's escape.—French
Elizabeth's instruction t
upon her relations to M
Flight.—Process in Engl
Grounds of the stricter im
for the Embassador Smith.
and Rome.—Report of the
treaties to Elizabeth.—Letter
Mary Stuart.

To escape the vengeance of
fled to England. The gr
progress of the legal enqui
consent, then broken off, &c.
tion here, but individual poi
and gaps filled up. Elizabet
Mary's entreat

relates,—first, that in the English court two lines of policy were advocated and hotly disputed, one for her liberation, the other the reverse. He then proceeds:—The Secretary of State, Cecil, does all in his power to divert back Elizabeth from her better counsel, and ventured in the presence of the Earl Leicester, with great license, (licentieusement,) to say—"You will be abandoned by your best servants, if you voluntarily, by the liberation of Queen Mary, throw your person and the state into so manifest and only too certain danger. Hereupon Elizabeth asked in anger: How he knew this? for up to this moment she had heard not a word on the subject from him which was not full of hate and passion. Cecil keeping silence, Leicester said—"You see, Madam, what kind of person is your Secretary of State, for as he was in conference with all of us yesterday in London, he assured us, he would advise you to release the Queen, and now he speaks in a quite contrary fashion." It is thus, said the Queen, he often reports to me things which concern yourselves and thereafter every thing turns out to be otherwise. However this may be, Mr. Secretary of State, I will go through with this business, will hear the proposals of the Queen, and not wait for you other brothers in Christ *.

* Et ne m'en arrêter plus a vous autres frères en Christ.

In the council held upon this matter, opposed opinions were expressed with great virulence, and one whom they had prepared before hand declared; They ought not to entertain the proposals of the French Ambassador, that Elizabeth was deluded and deceived, that the liberation of Mary would draw with it dangers, &c. King Henry VIII. (this counsellor proceeded to say) would not have let his prey escape, as some now in scandalous and miserable fashion advise, and if the French should come over out of their love for the Scottish Queen, I am myself ready, on command of the Queen our mistress, to cut off Mary's head. Hereupon the speaker fell upon Leicester especially, as not shewing fitting loyalty to his mistress in this matter.

Leicester defended his opinion in favour of coming

you cause to think of me otherwise than as a good councillor, and one whom all reasons in the world oblige to be always an obedient and most faithful servant to you. In respect of what I advise on the matter of the Scottish Queen, I believe, as certainly as I believe in God, that your repose and security depends upon it, and that opposite counsel would lead to your ruin and destruction. I can never change this my view. You, however, may act as you think good. I will, moreover, in order to obviate suspicion, for the future willingly abstain from the council." The Earl in fact journeyed hereupon to London; the Queen, however, forwarded without delay, to him and the Marquis of Northumberland, a commission to negociate further with the Bishop of Ross *.

* The rest of this, and the following letter, being extracted from the copies of MSS. existing in the British Museum, are omitted. [Tr.]

Letters of Mary Stuart to
ris.—Correspondence betw
sieur de Mauvissiere, the E
drew's, chiefly upon the
Mary Stuart.

I RETURN to the more
quiry, the history of Ma
to impart sources of info
verdicts, it appears to me
ation collected according
begin with some letters of
bassador Glasgow, at P.

dictate. They may well draw them up, but I see them to correct them, if they do not follow my intention. If you conform in every thing to my will, you will find profit, honour, and advancement, and will be preferred to every one. Nothing is now nearer my heart than to know those who will obey me, that I may use their service and reward them. If, however, any there are who strive to govern the course of my affairs after their own fancy, or who wish to labour rather for their own advantage than for me, I will yet see whether they dare to contemn my commands, because I am absent, or a prisoner. I am ready to hear the opinion of every man, in order to take the best resolution, to which God, according to his grace, will lend me the necessary gift of discrimination; where, however, I observe that a knot of persons forms itself for the purpose of thwarting my plans, I shall consider all participators therein as suspect, and use for my service those who take another road. I commend to you the old Curle, he is an old and faithful servant, and his son is faith-

that Nau and Curle could not write later without her approbation. Mary writes further, Feb. 20, 1575.—Je ne veux rien conclure sur mes Etats, sans Nau. In March, 1575, Elizabeth gave permission that Nau, a Frenchman recommended by the King of France, should be appointed Mary's secretary. Ellis's Letters, II. 278.

... cook had
She says with resp
danger if my victua
is the only one who
I have no apothecary

July 9, 1574. I b
red partridges, and h
endeavour to rear the
them in cages, as I do
come by—a pastime fo

July 18, 1574. Ex
my will may be followe
me, when occasion ser
counts. He should also
dresses and samples of c
stuffs, the finest and rare
der a couple of coifs, with
be made for me at Poissy,
for me formerly

If he be gone to Lyons, I reckon upon his sending me a pair of beautiful small dogs, and you also might purchase me a pair; for, excepting reading and work, the only pleasure I have is in all the small animals I can procure. You should forward them warmly, and well stowed in baskets.

Feb. 12, 1576. I send the King of France some poodle dogs, (barbets,) but can only answer for the beauty of the dog, it not being allowed me to ride and hunt *.

* The rest of this letter is omitted for the reason before stated.

LETTER LVIII.

Correspondence between Henry III., Mons. de Cl
Mary Stuart, Bernardin di Mendoza, Elizabeth, M
Courcelles and Bellievres.—The Duke of Guise,
Complaints of Mary as to her residence.—Mediation
III.—Relations with Spain.—Babington's conspiracy
trial.—James I.—Scotch and French intercession.—
Mary; her obsequies.—Elizabeth's justification.—On

terested myself for the liberation of Mary, but I do not believe it advisable to renew the negociation at this period. Yet you may, when it appears convenient, make proposals to that effect; only always in such manner that nothing may be suspected or mal-interpreted, and that no prejudice may accrue to the interest of my own affairs thereout.

According to other letters of March and April, 1586, Elizabeth pressed Henry to appease the troubles in his kingdom. To which the latter answered: —this was only possible in the case of all his subjects embracing the new religion, as, in sooth, Elizabeth suffered but one religion in her dominions, and afforded aid to his rebellious subjects. Elizabeth hereupon denied that she had supported Navarre; nor was it Navarre, but the Liguists, who deserved the name of rebels. Finally, that the proposal made to Elizabeth that she should exhort Henry IV. to become a Catholic, was unbefitting (mal seante).

2. Mary Stuart * to Messrs. de Chateauneuf and

* Many of the letters om which the extracts contained in this letter have been made, have been printed by order of the late Lord Bridgewater, and are appended to an unfinished life of the Chancellor Egerton. That work not being in circulation, the Translator has not thought it advisable to class them with those excluded from these volumes on the grounds stated in the

Mauvissiere. September 6, 1585. Messieurs; Foreseeing that your answer to my last letters will reach me but late, I have thought good, without waiting for it, to communicate my just complaints upon what Sir Amyas Paulett has been directed to signify to me touching the memorial which I had sent you, which is in fact a plain refusal of the principal requests contained in it, to wit, respecting the change and convenience of my lodging, intelligence of the affairs of my dowry by Mons. de Cherelles, and the increase of the number of my servants, &c.; things but light and of no importance to my good sister the Queen of England; and nevertheless so necessary to the preservation of my life and health, to the preservation of the little good left me in this world, and to my consolation between these four walls, (where I see but too plainly from one day to another, that they wish to reduce me to all extremity,) that without the urgent necessity that I have of them, I could not find heart to beg them with such instances, pursuit, and supplications, the which I esteem the dearest

preface, but he has availed himself of the means afforded by Lord Bridgewater, for comparing M. Raumer's translation with the originals. This letter is given by M. Raumer, as of 1586, un-dated. In the copy printed by Lord Bridgewater, it is dated Tuthbury, 6th September, 1685. [Tr.]

price at which they could make me buy them, regretting infinitely that for all the duty to which I have voluntarily submitted myself to please the Queen in every thing, they had so little consideration and respect for my honour and contentment, for my establishment and treatment. To lay before your eyes then the necessity in which I find myself first for my lodging, that you may remonstrate on my part, to the Queen, (who has never, I presume, been well informed,) I will tell you that I am in an enclosure of walls, at the top of an hill exposed to all the winds and injuries of heaven. Within the said enclosure, like that of the wood of Vincennes, there is a very old hunting house, built of carpentry and plaster (noggin?) with openings on all sides, * * * * *, the beams no where holding to the plaster, and the latter broken in numberless places; the said building distant three toises or thereabouts, from the walls, placed so low that the earthen rampart behind the wall is on a level with the highest part of it, so that the sun can no wise strike upon that side, nor any wholesome air reach it, but only a moisture and decay so great, that you cannot place a piece of furniture in that quarter, that it is not covered with damp within four days' time. I leave you to think how this must act on the body. And in a word, the greater part is rather a dungeon

for vile and abject criminals, than an habitation for persons of my quality, or of much inferior; assuring myself that there is no lord in the kingdom, nor specially those, who being much less than lords, wish to reduce me to less than themselves, who would not esteem it a punishment of tyranny to be reduced for an year to a so narrow and inconvenient habitation as they force and restrain me to. And for all lodging, I have for my own person, to which I call all who have been here to witness, only two wretched small rooms, so extremely cold, especially by night, that without the ramparts and entrenchments of curtains and tapestries which I have caused to be made, I were not able to abide there by day, and of all those who have nursed me by night during my sicknesses, no one hardly has escaped without malady, fluxion, or catarrh. Sir Amyas can bear witness if he has not seen three of my women at once ill, only by reason of this; and my physician himself, who has had his share, has plainly and repeatedly declared to him that he would in no wise charge himself with my health during the approaching winter, if I were to remain in this house. For as to replastering, or otherwise repairing and enlarging it, think how wholesome it would be for me to inhabit such a patched up dwelling, not being able to endure the least damp air; and there is, therefore, no reason in the

world to offer to make me here any new convenience or repairs for this winter. As to the house which it is proposed to me to occupy during the said repairs, it is a corps de logis nearly adjoining to this, respecting which my guardian can also bear witness that it is not capable of lodging the few servants I have; and I have otherwise too many occasions to dread dwelling thus apart; of which I choose not to speak further at present. If I must come to the conveniences, I have, as I have told you, no gallery or cabinet to withdraw to at times, except two wretched little recesses, looking out on nothing but the dark part of the enclosure of the wall and the largest not a toise and a half square. To take the air without on foot or in my chair, (there being no vacant space on the summit,) I have only about a quarter of an acre of ground round the stables, which Sommer, during the last winter, caused to be dug and enclosed with a fence of dry wood, a place more fit to keep pigs in than to bear the name of a garden; there is no hurdled plot for sheep in the fields which has not better grace, in proportion. As to exercise on horseback during the whole winter, as I have experienced, sometimes the rains, sometimes the snow, break up the ways in such wise that there is no means of driving out a mile, even in my coach, from which, if I have need, I resort to my

legs. I am ashamed to be obliged to tell you even this, that as there is no house so filled as this with people of the lower class, that can long be kept clean, what order soever be put to it, so this, wanting common privies, is subject to such a perpetual stench, that every Saturday they are compelled to empty them, and so under my windows, that *Je ne recoy pas de peu plaisantes cassolettes;* and if, beyond what I have said, I may add the opinion which I have conceived of this house, a thing to be respected in persons less than me, in a state of sickness, I will tell you that as this place has been my first prison, and restriction in this kingdom, and where from the beginning I have received such rigours, insults and indignities, I have always held it since for wretched and unfortunate: as from the last

captivity; another of my people has since died, and divers others have been much vexed with illness. As I can have here no commodity nor contentment, and without the express assurances of all honourable treatment from my good sister the Queen, which have made me patient in waiting, I would never have set my foot in it; rather should they have dragged me hither by force, as I now protest that nothing but force shall make me remain here; and that if I perish by sickness, I impute it at present to the deficiencies of my lodging and to those who shall keep me here; in the intention, as it seems, of making me totally despair of the good will of the said Queen, my good sister, in things of importance, since in such reasonable matters of ordinary necessity, I am so ill used, and faith is not kept with me. To allege that the season is too advanced and the time too short to provide me with a new lodging, as if I had not before made instance for one, is to forget that so soon as my secretary was in these parts, he spoke for it very urgently to the Queen, and left a memorial for it with Mr. Walsingham. Since then, they were reminded thereof, as well by Sommer as by my own mouth; upon which they pay me in no other coin, than that the memorial was delivered to you, Mons. de Mauvissiere, and that the fault is in

regard*.

3. Henry III. to Mons. de
1586†. The Queen of Scotland
intercede, that she may be placed
and convenient residence. Do e
in this matter, which is possib
(honnêtement). Yet this must tal
good manner, that Elizabeth ma
recognize therein the fair dealing
serve in all things which concern
fied you will know how to make t

4. Mary Stuart to the Spanish
nardin di Mendoza. July 2, 15

* There is some obscurity about this
verts to the circumstances of her habitat
priest, as mentioned in this letter, as co
vious place of confinement, and speaks of
bury as effected by the intercession of th
V. Robertson, Vol. 3, p. 19. [Tr.]

† Pinart, Vol. 8808. Upon Mary I find

ador! I write to you principally for the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, and to assure you that I attribute the postponement of your plans in no respect to the King your master; for I have always remarked him as a man of firm pace, as well in the general concern of religion, as in every thing which concerned myself, on which account I should be unthankful were I to entertain any other thought. That I suffer, is God's will; I am also ready to bring my neck under the yoke, and this delay disturbs me not so much on my own account as on account of the misery and trouble which so many worthy persons daily endure in this kingdom. Thus I feel more for the public calamity than my own. I have given commission to my embassador, to speak with you upon the payment of some monies, which the Lords Paget and Arundel, and Morgan, some three years back, laid out, upon my assurance that His Holiness and your master would make the sum good. I pray you to lay out as much as possible for their satisfaction, as this is not only a matter of justice and importance for those concerned in the loan, but one in which my security is presently concerned. Chartley, July 2, 1586. The Queen.

5. Monsieur de Chateauneuf to Henry III. 1586,

you that you have r
theless, written differ
licited Sir Amyas, s
regard*.

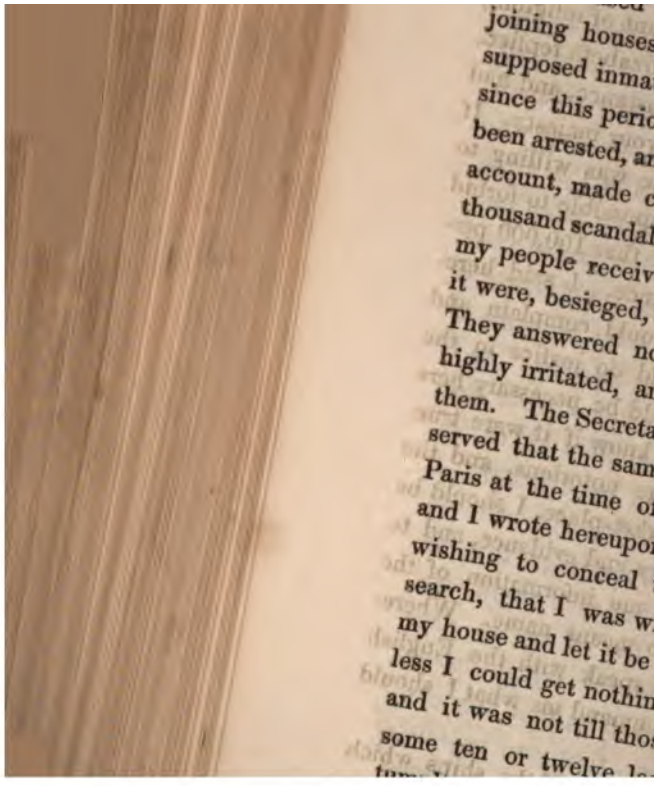
3. Henry III. t
1586 †. The Queen
intercede, that she
and convenient resi
in this matter, wh
(honnêtement). Ye
good manner, that
recognize therein th
serve in all things w
fied you will know

without date*. For this fortnight past, I have been unable to impart any accounts to your majesty, for all the ways to France are closed on account of a great conspiracy which has been discovered against the Queen and the State, as she has told me. She has on account of it, caused from twenty-five to thirty persons, all Catholics, to be arrested; other arrests also occur daily. In this town there was great commotion, the people being greatly incensed against the Catholics, nay, fears of violence against all who might be taken for Catholics were entertained for the space of eight or ten days. The streets were full of bonfires, and they rung the bells for twenty-four hours together, because the Queen had escaped so great a danger. The plan was, as they relate it, to shoot the Queen in mid August, and according to the project discovered, for every Catholic in the kingdom to take up arms in order to set Queen Mary upon the throne. Elizabeth at least ascribes to her the whole undertaking, on account of which I made a journey last Sunday with Monsieur Esneval to Windsor, where she said to me, "I know that the Queen of Scotland has set this on

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Collection de lettres originales d'état. Tom. III. fol. 337. Also in the Egerton copies, probably of the end of August, or the beginning of September, 1586.

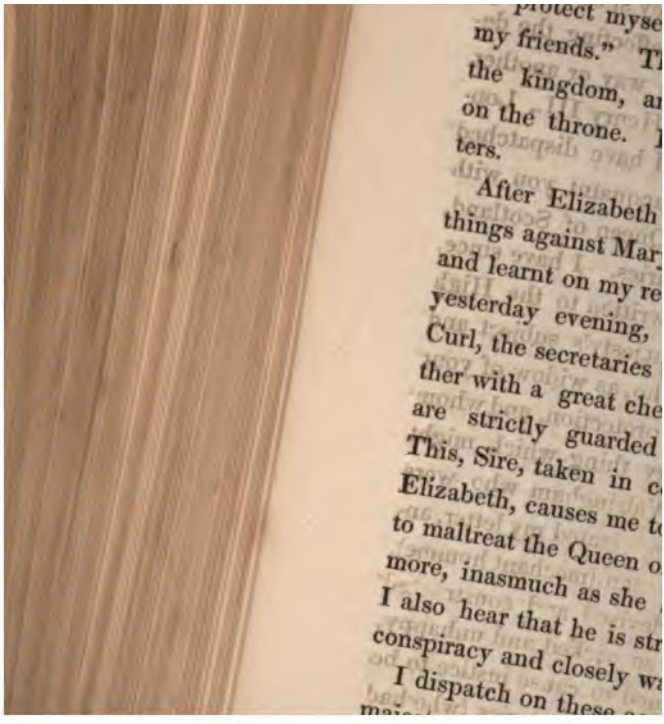
foot. This is in truth repaying good with evil, inasmuch as I have several times saved her life. In a few days the King of France will receive intelligence which will little please him." I answered, "She ought not to give credence to every calumny forged against the Queen her prisoner, and one who (as she well knew) had many enemies in this kingdom." I further begged her to clear up more precisely those of her expressions which regarded your majesty, inasmuch as you, like myself, would consider them very strange. She replied to this: her ambassador in Paris would afford the explanation. As I pressed her harder and said, "I knew not what bad accounts could reach your majesty from hence, so long as she were your ally and in good health," I received no other answer, than that she believed your majesty would find it very strange that an attempt had been made to deal her such an ill turn.

Now Sire, throughout the ten or twelve days during which the violence of the search lasted, the report was general in the city, that this conspiracy had its origin in France, that your majesty's self and the King of Spain were participators therein, that your fleet was prepared for its support, and that the leaders of the plot, not as yet discovered, had concealed themselves in my house, which, every one said, ought to be entered by force, that they


joining houses
supposed inmat
since this perio
been arrested, an
account, made c
thousand scandal
my people receive
it were, besieged, a
They answered no
highly irritated, an
them. The Secreta
served that the same
Paris at the time of
and I wrote hereupon
wishing to conceal t
search, that I was wi
my house and let it be s
less I could get nothing
and it was not till thos
some ten or twelve

day before the Queen, and even named to her those who had maligned your majesty in public, (being mostly French, who have fled hither on account of religion,) and demanded their punishment. Elizabeth replied, she was much vexed at the circumstance, and had never entertained a bad opinion of your majesty. If any spoke evil of your majesty, she was willing to order his punishment, yet it was impossible to forbid speech to a people, and she knew that 100,000 persons spoke evil of herself in France. I said hereupon that if her ambassador would complain and name them, your majesty would do justice in the matter. She continued, it would be necessary here to examine the accused, and know if it were true. Thus, although the facts were notorious, and the words spoken in the open market-place, I should be compelled to adduce witnesses and evidence, and to name those who had given me information of the whole, whom I would by no means name. Wherefore I request you, Sire, to speak with the English ambassador at Paris, or command me what I should do in the matter.

I also spoke with Elizabeth of the ships which have sailed towards Rochelle, as was said, as in fact there are three or four laden with Frenchmen, and with munitions purchased by those of the reformed



are inclined to do her an ill turn in parliament, (next Michaelmas,) nor is it possible, now that Nau is brought here with his papers, that they should entertain any other design than that of effecting the destruction of the Queen Mary in one way or another.

6. Monsieur de Chateauneuf to Henry III., London, September 7, 1586*. Sire, I have dispatched my secretary some days since, to acquaint you with the danger in which I saw the Queen of Scotland, since the arrest of her two secretaries. I have since, i. e. the day before yesterday, written to the High Treasurer, that Nau was your majesty's subject and servant to a sovereign prince, who, as widow of your brother, was under your special protection, and whom I was bound to serve in every thing which might concern her. Burleigh and Walsingham who were present, and to whom he communicated my letter, answered that Nau was a wicked man (mechant homme). He and his mistress had devised and constructed (trainé et bati) a conspiracy so wicked and unhappy, that Elizabeth was determined to cause justice to be done against Mary and her two secretaries (who had confessed every thing). Proofs had been besides dis-

* Bibl. Roy, No. 9513. Lettres originales d'état. Tom. III. fol. 271.



wretched a condition that she can scarcely be worse off*. I wait the orders of your Majesty, which I wish to be very express, and such as I may exhibit; for when I speak to the Queen of any thing which displeases her, she tells me that she does not believe that your Majesty has ordered it me, not that she doubts it, but to find an excuse.

7. Chateauneuf to Henry III., Sept. 11, 1586†. The secretaries of the Queen of Scotland are still confined at Walsingham's, to be interrogated. All their papers and memoranda are looked through and deciphered in the presence of the Queen Elizabeth. She has forwarded every thing through a gentleman named *Baillx* (?) to the King of Scotland.

8. Chateauneuf to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 18, 1586‡.—You would do well to proceed towards Mary with liberality and gentleness; consider that she is a Queen, a prisoner for the last twenty years, unacquainted with forms, &c.

* Chateauneuf, in a letter of Sept. 7, to Mr. Brulart, writes, in allusion to Mary's danger:—It is the intrigues of Bernardin de Mendoza, which seldom produce any fruits, and ruin all those who put faith in them. [Tr.]

† Bibl. Roy. 30. fol. 347.

‡ Bibl. Cott. Galba E. VI. fol. 312.

9. Chateauneuf to Henry III., Oct. 30, 1
Your Majesty will have received my lette
20th, in which I advised you, as how th
had sent the members of her council and
lords to Fotheringay, to examine Mary
They arrived on Tuesday, the 21st instant;
the Wednesday she was sick, which was a rea
they did not see her. On Thursday she a
in a great hall, fitted up for the purpose,
canopy and chair of state had been brou
left empty, as for the place of the Queen of F
and a chair was set by it for Mary, at wh
was incensed, and said, she had a good clai
under the said canopy, as having married a
France. Casting her eyes hereupon over
sembled lords, and observing so many lawy
said, I see there many lords of council, but
for me.

The Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and
torney-general now approached her, and set
her as how they had received the commissio
Elizabeth, to interrogate her upon certain
written by her to Babington and other consp

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres originales de Etat.
fol. 381.

according to which it had been intended to kill the Queen and seize upon the kingdom. She refused to make any answer on this day, and said, She was a Queen, who knew no superior upon earth, and would make answer to none but the Queen herself. She added to this speech some further angry expressions.

The parties made their report of this to Elizabeth, who forthwith wrote a letter to Mary, the contents of which, translated word for word out of the English, are as follows:—You have in various sort and kind sought to take my life, and to bring my kingdom to destruction through bloodshed. I have never proceeded so hardly against you, but have, on the contrary, protected and cherished you like my own, myself. These treasons will be proved to you, and brought manifestly home to yourself. Yet it is my will, that you make answer to the nobles and peers of my realm so as if I were present. I therefore require, demand, and order, that you do make answer, having been well informed of your arrogance; but deal plainly, and you may have more favour from us. Signed, Elizabeth; without any subscription of sister or cousin.

This letter being arrived, on the Friday morning she came out in public, and persisted in saying, that she would not answer before them. She was, however, willing to say to them, she had sought in



with Babingto
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King of France,
The Lord Trea
on the letters writ
into anger, and s
mies here who hav
let herself go so fa
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and even wished to

* De vouloir veoir les
writes, Sept. 8, to Wal
by his handwriting, to h
and her own minut

kingdom to this end. All that she said was written down, read out, and signed by all the lords present.

Postscript.—Queen Mary has said, that she has sought to obtain her liberty by all means (only not by any devices against the life of Elizabeth). That she has, to free herself, desired to bring a foreign force into this kingdom, and to the same end has had intelligence with Babington and the other conspirators. This one fact (ce fait seul) condemns her, so that all the lords who were present are to meet on Monday next, Nov. 3, and, as I know from an authentic source, to pass sentence upon her and declare her worthy of death.

10. Chateauneuf to Henry III., Nov. 5, 1586.—Yesterday, Tuesday, in the morning, the lords met in the Star Chamber, where they remained till five in the evening. They caused the Secretaries, Nau and Curl, to be three times brought before them and questioned. All unanimously hereupon pronounced the Queen Mary guilty, and convicted of that conspiracy against the state of the Queen (l'état de la Reine).

11. Henry III. to Mons. de Courcelles, his Ambassador in Scotland, Nov. 21, 1586 *. Set forth to the King of Scotland in detail the grounds of plead-

* Bibl. Cotton. Caligula. C. IX.

ing for Mary; incite him by all means to take the part of his mother. Tell him, in my name, that he will be praised for so doing by all kings and princes, and *vice versâ*, if he shew himself tardy in this matter, he will incur the greatest reproaches, and perhaps derive important prejudice to his own affairs.

12. Mary Stuart to the Duke of Guise *.—My good cousin; To you, whom I most love upon earth, I say farewell, standing as I am on the eve of dying, in pursuance of an unjust sentence, by a mode of death which, God be praised, never yet fell to the lot of any one of our race, and still less of my condition. Thank God therefore; for I was useless on earth in his cause and that of the Church, but hope that my death will shew my firmness in my faith, and my readiness to perish in this unhappy island, for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic church. And, although an executioner has never yet dipped his hand in our blood, do not, my friend, be ashamed of this; for a sentence passed by heretics and enemies of the Church, who have no right over me, a free Queen, is honourable before God, and advantageous to the children of the Church. If I were attached to these, (heretics?) this blow would not descend upon me. All the members of our house have

* Caligula C. IX. fol. 449. Keralio v. 437.

been persecuted by this sect, as your good father, with whom I hope to be received into mercy by the just Judge.

I commend to you my poor servants, the payment of my debts, and beg for a religious foundation for my soul's sake, not at your expense, but after a manner which you will learn from my inconsolable servants, these eye-witnesses of my last tragedy. May God bless you, your wife, children, brother, and cousins, and, above all, our head, my good brother and cousins, as well as all belonging to him. The blessing of God, and that which I might give my own children, descend upon yours, whom I commend to God no less than I do my own son, who is thereaway unfortunate and deluded.

You will receive some memorials of me, to remind you to cause the soul of your poor kinswoman to be prayed for. I am deprived of every counsel and aid, except from God, who gives me strength and courage to withstand the many wolves who are prowling after me. To God be the honour.

Give special belief to all a person shall say to you, who will deliver you a ruby ring in my name; for I am convinced she will tell you the truth in every thing, also as to my poor servants and some others. I recommend this person to you, that, on account of her simple veracity and honourable cha-

racter, she may be well established somewhere. I have chosen her because she is least of a partizan, and will the most faithfully carry my commands into effect. Let it not, however, come to light that she has had any private communication with you, for envy might prejudice her.

I have suffered much for two years past, and could not, for important reasons, let you know it. God be praised for all, and give you grace to endure to the end of your days in the service of the Church. Never may this honour depart from our house! and may its men and its women be ever ready (all other worldly considerations set aside) to pour out their blood for the maintenance of the struggle of the faith! As to myself, I hold myself as born, both on the father's and mother's side, to offer my blood

the council. I have exhibited to them on that canopy, instead of my arms, the cross of my Redeemer. You will hear the whole discourse. I find them since that time milder (plus doux). Your devoted kinswoman, and entire friend, Mary, Queen of Scotland, widow Queen of France.

13. Monsieur de Courcelles to Monsieur de Chateauneuf in London. November 30, 1586*.—King James promises to intercede for his mother through his ambassador, Kit, (Keith,) an honourable man, but a little Englishman. (Un petit Anglais.)

14. Monsieur de Courcelles to Henry III. November 30, 1586.—King James said to me: The lot (le fait) of the Queen his mother was the strangest which had ever been heard of, and there was no history parallel to it since the creation of the world. He had written in his own hand to Elizabeth, to four, or five, of the most considerable persons in England, and also to Walsingham; and desired the latter to desist from his bad offices and to engage himself no longer in this affair, he would otherwise do him a displeasure which he would have pain to entertain.

Several lords and gentlemen are, however, dissatisfied that he has sent Kit on the mission, a man of small substance, and a pensioner of England. They

* Bibl. Cott. Caligula. C. IX. fol. 449.

say: "in an affair of such moment, where the life of his mother is at stake, which must be dear to him as his own, could he in his whole kingdom find no other who would have reckoned this embassy an honour, no others who would have offered for it life and property?"—This makes it be believed that some secret understanding or other exists with the Queen of England; which belief is strengthened by the circumstance that Kit's instructions were prepared by the King, Lethington and Gray alone, and not communicated to the others.

15. Chateauneuf to Henry III., December 1586*. —With respect to Queen Mary, said Elizabeth, I have given several days' time to my parliament, to consider upon the means by which I may be able to preserve her life without putting my own to

On the following day we received intelligence that the sentence pronounced upon Mary had been made public in London *. The ceremony of the proclamation was attended by the Earl Pembroke, the mayor and the aldermen of London; and on the instant they began to ring the bells of the city, which example was followed throughout the kingdom, and this ringing (sonnerie) has lasted twenty-four hours: they also lighted many bonfires for joy at the determination which the Queen had come to against the Queen of Scots.

This occasioned us to write to the Queen Elizabeth the letter of which the inclosed is a copy, wherein we (other means failing us) begged her to postpone the sentence so long as that we might be able to learn what your Majesty would wish to say, represent, and do. She caused us to be informed, that we should receive her answer on the following day through one of her councillors of state. The day is however passed, and we have learnt nothing. This morning Mr. Oulle?, one of the council, visited us and said, after long speeches upon the grounds for the execution of the sentence, out of consideration for your Majesty, the Queen would postpone it

* This took place on December 6, 1586.

twelve days, without however pledging
through this space, if in the interval any
should be done against her which might
ground for an alteration.

The Scottish ambassadors received the same
to the like requests. They had said to Eli
that if she were to execute the mother of their
the latter would renounce her friendship, a
alliance with England, in order to consult w
friends how to order his affairs: Elizabeth
fell into great wrath.

In so wretched a condition, so great danger
the Queen of Scotland find herself; from hers
have no accounts, as she is very strictly wa
They have left her only four women and tw
vants.

The sentence of death was read to her
presence of Lord Buckhurst. We have not
that she said any thing else than that "she d
believe that the Queen her sister would deal
humanly with her." At the time of the publi
clamation they removed the canopy from her
ber, hung the walls and beds with black, and
her a clergyman to console her; she howeve
repulsed him, and declares that happen what
she will die a catholic.

16. Monsieur de Courcelles to Henry III., December 31, 1586 *.—Sire, since the 30th November when I last wrote to your Majesty, the King of Scotland has received intelligence that the English parliament has determined that the death of his mother is the only means for securing the life of Elizabeth. In order to withhold the latter from proceeding further upon this advice, James determined to dispatch forthwith the Earl Bothwell and the Lord Gray and Sir Robert Melvill to London, and received upon the application of his ambassadors English passports for the two latter, but for certain reasons none for the first. Several think that this refusal springs from the intrigues and devices of Gray and Archibald Douglas, who would fain put out of the way the Earl Bothwell as an impetuous frank man, devoted to the Queen of Scotland. He could have shewn himself her friend, even if he had been made acquainted with some of the misconduct of which several accuse her.

The king of Scotland appears not much to trouble himself with this, from his desire to send some one quickly, to prevent further proceedings against the Queen his mother; and that in any case the passport

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres origin. d'état. Vol. III. fol. 408.

being made out for Lord Gray who could take the said Melvill with him, these seemed to him sufficient for the above legation. The instructions for these were drawn up by Lethington, and bore immediate reference to the great friendship which had subsisted between the King and the Queen of England. In consideration of this and in virtue of her hereditary gentleness and goodness, which make her renowned throughout Christendom, she will not stain her reputation by the death of Queen Mary her near relation, of like blood and origin, and of her own sex. Honour forbad the King to forsake her or to grant that she should be executed after the desire of her enemies and unjust persecutors. Elizabeth's life, meanwhile, would be less secured by the death than the preservation of Mary. He therefore ear-

endeavour to bring about that Mary should remain perpetual prisoner, and so surrounded by persons of notorious fidelity, that all connections with others should be impossible to her. He was ready for this end to make solemn engagements with his mother, and equally with herself, to acknowledge that in case of violation of the conditions she should be judged not as a Queen but as Elizabeth's subject.

To give these instructions more solemnity, James caused them to be read to the parliament, and called upon the Lords to give their opinion upon them. Hereupon the Lords Hamilton, Arran, Bothwell and others remarked, it seemed to them not unfitting to add that the King, if Elizabeth should proceed further against his mother, would declare war; or add some threats which would, in their opinion, be of more avail to restrain the insolence of the enemy than all the entreaties they could make. They wished also to strike out certain passages in the last instruction, as running contrary to the honour and dignity of the King, and being such as his mother herself would even in extremity refuse her consent to. The King answered; "the time is not fitting, and the posture of my affairs does not permit me to threaten the Queen of England, who is a very powerful Princess. The

last article moreover must remain unaltered, as a means by which the life of my mother may be saved."

Upon this the Lord Herries prayed his Majesty not to take it amiss, if he were to tell him, that from the beginning, they had shewn themselves too tardy in the defence of his mother, which had given occasion to her enemies to proceed so far against her. The King however answered in anger—"Although I am not bound to lay before my subjects an account of my dealings, I yet will that every one should know that if I did not speak earlier respecting the liberation of my mother, I so abstained because she herself had sent me word not to do it, and I will not do service to any ungrateful person *. For proof how I have in every thing discharged my

As they saw him so stedfast in his opinion, none would make reply; many also concluded that he was advised that this was the only way to save his mother; they had perhaps laid it down for him from England, and Elizabeth was perhaps informed of it. In any case the king will endeavour to derive therefrom advantages for himself. As he has made a general declaration that he would not openly declare against England, even befalling the death of his mother, but only in the case of an attempt to exclude him from the succession, as he himself has said to Lord Bothwell and Seton, all which may have given, as they pretend it has, more courage to the partizans of England, who are about him and know the facility which is said to belong to him, to persuade the Queen of England not to hesitate (faindre) in proceeding against the Queen his mother, for though her death would be displeasing to him, they would be able, by the great means they had in his court, and their favour with his person, or in any event by the occasions which time would procure, to excuse the execution which might be done upon her. The partisans of England who surround him have taken fresh courage. He trusts to his dexterity for being able to dissuade Elizabeth and her council from violent measures against his mother, and the

English think that, however disag
tion may be to him, they will b
fluence and other means, which ti
excuse and slur over the action.

This is the more to the purpo
confessed to King James, he h
Secretary of State, Walsingham, a
land, suggesting to them not to
public but to remove her by poi
not, moreover, deny this, as these
to the knowledge of some nobleme
him with death in the event of any
to Mary. This (as some believe) h
undertake a journey to England wi
and to promise the King to set ever
in his mother's behalf. He has con
on the occasion of his departure, w
of him and Melvill to co-operate w
Bellievre and Chateauneuf. He h
error and to remove the suspicion
He is also, in the case of the death

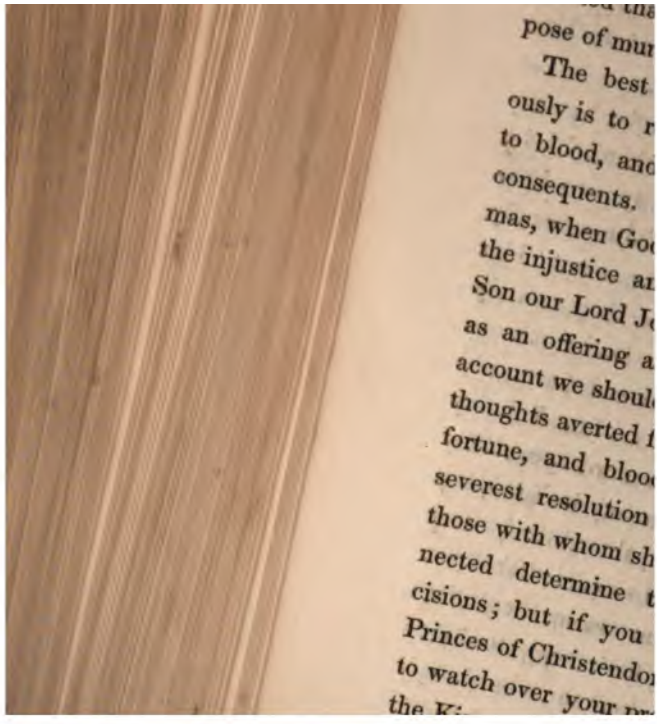
Queen of England, January 6, 1587*. We have communicated to the King, our master, the answer which in two audiences you have given us in respect to all that we represented to you in his name with regard to the Queen of Scotland. His Majesty is in extreme trouble (peine extreme) at this answer, as well on account of that Queen, his relation and sister-in-law, as also on your own account, Madam, whose friendship he holds so high and wishes to preserve all his days. We entreat you, therefore, yet again to take his request into wise consideration, for he holds it for just, and no less in accordance with your honour and designs than his own. He wishes not, in speaking of a thing which concerns all sovereigns, in any respect to come too near your dignity; he acknowledges that you are sovereign princess, and have an equal interest with all other princes in this matter. As to the injurious treatment which your Majesty alleges to have received, specially from your nearest relations, your goodness has frequently declared, that you seek no vengeance, and we believe these words. As to what, however, regards your remaining doubt, that by the longer

* This is a second later representation of the Embassadors. Negociations d'Angleterre, Vol. xxxiv. p. 383. sq. Bibl. Roy. Chambre du Levant.

nearest relation, to England. She has long lived in the hope to be restored through your goodness to her kingdom; and instead of all these hopes being realized, she has up to this time arrived at nothing but an imprisonment which still endures.

Your Majesty wishes that a mean might be discovered, by which Mary's preservation might be made consistent with your own security; we have communicated this to our King, and he earnestly entertains the same desire. Yet it all seems to him to lie in your hand, as you have Queen Mary entirely in your power. This noble Princess is now so humbled and abased that her greatest enemies would have compassion upon her. Out of this I derive confidence in the mercy and generosity of your Majesty. What remains to the Queen of Scotland, but a wretched life of few days' endurance, and never have we been willing to admit the opinion that you could determine yourself to so severe an execution. Cicero said, speaking of King Deiotarus, to Julius Cæsar; It is something so unusual to proceed capitally against a King that such a thing has hitherto been unheard of.

If the Queen of Scotland be innocent, justice demands her acquittal; if she be held for guilty, it belongs to your honour to pardon her, and if you do so, you do but that which all good Princes would



you, &c. If you are willed without regard to all prayers and reasons, to proceed further, the King would sensibly feel it, not only in reference to the common interests of all sovereigns, but would consider himself as personally offended.

18. Queen Elizabeth to Henry III*. Sir, my good brother! The old ground on which I have often built my letters, appears to me at present so extremely strange that I am compelled to alter the style, and instead of returning thanks to use complaint. My God, how could you be so possessed, (forcené,) to believe that it were honourable or friendly to find fault with an oppressed party, (reprendre,) and to seek the death of an innocent one that she may become the prey of a murderess (meurtrière)! Ah! without reference to any rank, (which is no wise inferior to your own,) thoughtless of my friendship towards you, the most sincere; (for I have forfeited well nigh all reputation among the princes of my own religion, because I have neglected them in order to avoid setting your dominions in commotion;) exposed to such dangers as hardly any prince was ever exposed to; in expectation of some at least ostensible reasons and offers, in order to secure my-

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres originales d'Etat, III. fol. 421. I have done my best to follow the style and periods of the original.

self against the daily danger. In spite of all this, for the epilogue of this whole negociation, you are so blinded by the words of those who I pray God may not ruin you, that (instead of a thousand thanks which I had deserved for such singular and unusual services) Monsieur de Bellievre has addressed language to my ears, which in truth I know not how well to interpret. For to tell me, that if I did not save the life of that woman I should feel the consequence, (ressentir,) seems to me the threat of an enemy, which (of this I assure you) will never put me in fear, but is the shortest way to despatch (depêcher) the cause of so much calamity. It would grieve me much, if you should have to feel the consequences of such ambitious dealing. On this account, Sir, my good brother, cause me (to end the

friend; in other case however, I am not of such low estate, (de si bas bien,) nor do I rule over such insignificant dominions, that I should yield in right and honour to any prince upon the earth, and I doubt not, through God's grace, my party will be strong enough to maintain me. Think rather, I beseech you, on the means of maintaining than of diminishing my friendship. Your states, my good brother, cannot abide many enemies. Give not the rein, in God's name, to wild horses, that they may not shake you from your saddle. I say this to you out of a true and upright heart, and implore the Creator to grant you a long and happy life.

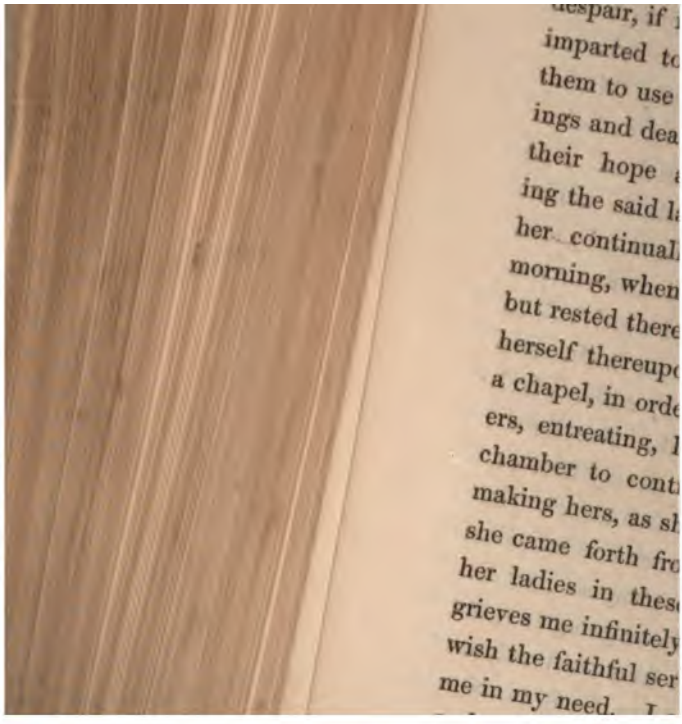
To this collection of original documents, for the most part unknown, I append one with the following title:—19th, —. The last discourses (propos) of the Queen of Scotland, from the announcement of her sentence to its execution *. Monday, Feb. 15, 1587. Lord Belle (Beal) one of the lords who are about the said Queen of England, was sent by her to Faldructzay, (Fotheringay,) with orders to make every preparation for the execution of Queen Mary. The Earl of Scherubury (Shrewsbury) also, and some other lords of the neighbourhood, received

* In the same volume, 34, of the relations d'Angleterre, and probably forwarded by the French ambassador.

orders to be present thereat; which Monsieur Beal, upon his arrival, would fain visit, the same day, the Queen, as he did, and towards eight or nine in the evening presented himself at the door of the room, which was suddenly opened by one of the chamber women, of whom he asked if the Queen were prepared to go to bed. She answered, the Queen was so prepared, and had laid aside her mantle. She entered, incontinently, the Queen's chamber, and told her that Beal was already in the antichamber and wished to speak with her. The Queen having resumed her mantle, and given permission to that Lord to enter, he saluted her, and said:—Madam, I wish that it had fallen to another than myself to be the bearer, in the name of the Queen of England, of tidings so evil as mine; but as a faithful

Queen my sister without (God is my witness) having injured her. I give into his hands my spirit innocent, my heart clear, my conscience pure, before his Divine Majesty, of the crimes of which she has caused me to be accused, and I shall carry this day this same innocence boldly before his face, as before him who is the only Judge of my past actions. And since I am to die by a so violent death, in consequence of a sentence, unjust, and pronounced by men who have no right over me, I will nevertheless submit and present myself thereto, and which will be more agreeable to me than to live longer in the same calamity, and in the torture (martir) under which they too long have made me languish. Nor have I expected any thing less from the deadly hate and cruelty of the Queen towards me, and her complaisance to the counsels of my old enemies, of whom she has made use in order to compass my destruction and death, the which I am going to suffer in patience, in order to be freed from their uninterrupted persecutions, and (if it please God) to reign for ever in an happier abode than that which has been my lot for the greater part of my life in the hands of so severe and cruel a relation. Since she, however, has thus determined, and with such severity, God's will be done!

When the maidens, and other persons about the


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she came forth fr
her ladies in thes
grieves me infinitely
wish the faithful ser
me in my need.

when she had nearly ended her letters, there was a knock at the door, which she herself opened. It was Beal and her keeper Paulet, the person who had the custody of the said lady, and whose duty it was to take her, and to lead her to the place appointed for her last moments. She begged them to indulge her with half an hour's space, in order to write out somewhat she had commenced. They granted this request, but Beal and Paulet remained in the antichamber. After a short space she reappeared (leaving in her cabinet what she had written) and said to two of her women:—I pray you, my good friends, do not leave me, but remain by me in the hour of my death. Then going forth to her chamber, she found there Beal and Paulet, and said to them:—Is the time arrived for me to die? Tell me, for I am entirely prepared thereto, with as much patience as it has pleased God to afford me. Yet I beg you to tell and acquaint the Queen of England, my sister, that she and her council have passed upon me the most unjust sentence that ever was pronounced in this kingdom, nay, in all Christendom, without any proof, assured form, or order of justice whatever. I am moreover convinced, that God's judgments will so nearly and closely encompass her, that her conscience through her life, and God after her death, will accuse her, on account of the inno-

cence with which I am about to render my spirit into his hands.

She hereupon prayed that her two ladies and her maitre d'hôtel might be allowed to approach her, who took her under the arm and led her down into a great hall hung with black, and fitted up for the occasion, which hall was full of people come to see the piteous spectacle. In the middle was an elevation of some five or six steps, which Mary mounted with the support of these ladies and her servant. The people, who were attentive in every thing to remark her gestures and countenance, and well to retain all the words she might utter, cast their eyes upon this poor princess, in whose countenance appeared so much beauty, that every one was asto-

been guilty against your holy commands. And although through your grace I have been born a Queen, consecrated and anointed in your church, I yet always held and considered that this greatness excuses me not my failings towards you, but that like all mortals I am subject to your sincere judgments, more certain than those which spring in the heads or hearts of inconstant men, and which are often, of their own motion, forgotten and lost sight of, as is shown by the instance of the misfortune which their mere ambition and envy have wrought me before the Queen of England, even to the bloody death which they have long since premeditated and sworn against me. Not wishing to conceal from myself, my God, but freely to say and confess that I have often strayed from the straight path of thy ordinances, which, and the faults I may have committed, of what nature soever, I pray thee humbly, my God, to remit, as I, with good heart, pardon all those who have offended me, and condemned me by their unjust sentence to this cruel death. Suffer me lastly, my God, in the presence of these witnesses, before all England, nay, all Christendom, to assert for my justification, that I never in any manner took part in the conspiracies against the life of the Queen of England, or gave counsel or consent towards them. I have certainly, with the aid of my friends, confederates, and Catho-

able prisons, and obtain some l
to infringe on the laws of this st
commands, and if I had any ot
particular, I beseech that my
tually deprived of the participa
and grace, and of the fruit which
from the death and passion of
Lord Jesus Christ: and as one i
impostures, I submit all my othe
to your holy and divine justice,
which I make to the glorious Vir
the saints, angels, and the blesse
dise, that it may please them to i
wards God, that I may be able
perpetually with them in celestial

When the Queen had finishe
drew from under her mantle a wl
to one of her women, take this

this world, but on God alone. The Queen quickly asked one of her women:—Is not that a minister who speaks to me? conceal it not from me? The woman answered:—Yes, Madam. She then said:—Ah, my God, I remember your words, in the hour of our death we shall be tempted and assailed by the enemies of our soul; and quoting the words of David, in the vith and xxxvith psalms, she said, "Depart from me ye workers of iniquity, for God has heard the voice of my complaint and my prayer. Leave me not, oh God, remove thyself not from me, come to my help, thou who art the author of my salvation." All present wondered at the great beauty and firmness of the poor princess. The executioner now approached to discharge his task, which he did, after the fashion of this country, quickly enough; he then replaced the head near the body, which was forthwith covered by the ladies aforementioned with black cloth which was in readiness, and they were permitted to carry it off and bestow it in the chamber where the Queen had used to sleep.

The greater part of those who had listened to the declarations of Mary at her death, accounted her not guilty, and it is thought that if the execution had been done in public, there would have been very considerable tumult, and that the Queen

would have been succoured and delivered unjust judgment *.

As soon as the tidings of Mary's deat London, all the bells were rung for tw hours, and bonfires lighted in all the streets lic places.

20. Chateauneuf to Henry III., April 158 singham made me many excuses upon the the Queen of Scotland, and threw all t upon Davison, who, however, had done no what an upright man, a faithful servant of h and a friend of his country, was obliged to however true, that he passed beyond the of the Queen, but only after the opinion of cil. Nay, Walsingham said to me he had the passing of that sentence under the grea the chancellor, under the false pretence that commission for Ireland, so that the chancello the seal without having read the conten Queen was, as he said, moreover so incense all the members of the council, that she would of them, (not even Leicester, Burleigh, and

* For the maintenance of tranquillity upwards of valry were stationed in the neighbourhood. Ellis, II

† Memoires et traités concernant l'Angleterre. Bibl. Roy. MSS. Chambre du Levant.

ey had given credence to the mere asser-
vison. That any one should thus act
knowledge, she accounted as setting her
ge.

meanwhile, as th s execution was ne-
e welfare of Elizabeth and her king-
idered it very strange, that the King
ld be so offended at it.

I. to Chateauneuf, May 1587*. I
ur report, in which you write to me
much incensed against those who
ice of death of Mary, has forbid
, and has ordered them, and parti-
pon whom all the blame falls, to
lic trial. Their chastisement has
so severe that it should make any
have understood of the death and
een of Scotland.

to his ambassador Comblizy in
Among all the sad and horrible
ever reached his majesty, none
and painful to his heart than
and lamentable death of the
His majesty has found himself
ured, in that no regard was

No. 8808. Bibl. Roy.

paid to the opposite representations of his aml
subjects.

23. Chateauneuf to Henry III., August 27, 15
Sire! Queen Elizabeth has on the 11th of this mo
caused the obsequies of the Queen Mary to be
heard at Peterborough, and her body to be buri
the cathedral church, on the right of the choir o
the Queen Catherine of Arragon. Her secret
Nau and Curl, have been set at liberty, and
they before possessed has been given back to
they having previously signed in full council
declaration that their evidence was true, given w
violence, compulsion, or hope of reward.

24. Chateauneuf to Henry III., May 13, 1
It was not my wish to say anything on the sub
the Queen of Scotland, but the Queen Eli

intercession of the French and Scotch ambassadors. In truth, however, she continued:—" I never entertained the design of causing her to be executed. Only in case a foreign force should have landed in England, or a great insurrection broken out for Mary, in such case I admit, I would, perhaps, have ordered her death, but never in any other manner. My councillors, among others four who are here present, have played me a trick, in regard of which I cannot appease myself. As true as God lives, had they not served me so long, had they not acted in the conviction that what they did was directed towards the good of their country and their Queen, I would have caused them to lose their heads. Do not believe that I am wicked enough to wish to throw the blame upon a small secretary, if the fact were not so, but this death will for many reasons oppress my heart through my whole life."

25. Ompson, English ambassador in Paris to the Duke Henry of Guise, May, 1588*. They have in the residence of the Duke of Mayenne spoken aloud in an audacious and misbecoming manner of my Queen, whose honour has never been called in question among honest and virtuous men, and which I am here to defend with word and blade. I tell them,

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 33.

they have shamefully lied, and will ever lie, if they impeach the honour of that Princess, who is the most excellent one upon earth, and least of all should be judged by a traitor, and one faithless to his king and country as you are. For this I challenge you at what weapons you will, on foot or horseback. Nor should ye imagine that I am not a fit antagonist, for I am of an English race, as great and noble as your own. Name your place and day, when and where I can repeat my complaint and accusation. If you have but a little courage, you should not put up with this, and if you will bear it, I will every where proclaim that you are the most cowardly slanderer and the greatest poltroon in France. I wait your answer.

[redacted]

LETTER LIX.

Elizabeth, France, and Spain.—Elizabeth to Henry III. and Henry IV.—Earl of Essex.

ELIZABETH was, during the whole time of her government, in a dangerous position, as opposed to the two great powers of Europe, France and Spain. Both hated her on account of her religion, and if Philip was in addition furious with her on account of her support of the Netherlanders, the party of the Guises saw in her a personal enemy. Those powers shunned, nevertheless, an open rupture, and on many occasions when there was no lack of ground for war on both sides, they yet persisted in maintaining peace.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew estranged Elizabeth from the court of France. She shed on the news of it bitter tears, and said she would give 300,000 crowns that this calamity should not have happened*. It is true that later, Henry III. complained of her

* Fenelon Ambassade, MSS. de St. Germain, Vol. 739.

supporting Henry IV., Elizabeth wished nothi of peace in France.

April 9, 1588, (thus s barricades,) she wrote H the following tenor*:— never undertaken anythi dom. If I supported H the conviction that his have also ever counselle you, but not alter his rel The party of the Ligue i voured; it has already sl to you, and no one is against it. The King o undertaking anything ag would support him in so you permit the Hugher security, you will find in the support of all Protes

When Henry III., inst connected himself with serted that out of this wo but that God would, as h her his assistance.

* Pinart, Vol.

† Letter of A

On another occasion at the time of this great danger, she said to the French Ambassador, Chateauneuf*:—I will not publish what means I possess within the Netherlands; I will by God hinder the King of Spain and these Guises from making a mockery of me, poor old woman that I am, who have, indeed, the frame of a woman, but the heart of a man.

With Henry IV. she was not always content. I will select with reference to this one of her letters, difficult to translate. She writes†:—My very dear brother;—The learned have disputed whether the sense of sight or that of hearing deserved the preference. Were I present at the controversy, and were the examples extant which now present themselves, I would declare myself in favour of the sight. I should then, indeed, have seen the commissaries who saluted you, but should not have heard the evil reports by which you are exposed to the danger of a battle.

If God in his mercy give you the victory, this, (I swear to you,) is more than your nonchalance deserves. How could you be so ill advised as to

* Relations d' Angleterre. Vol. 52, Lettre du 13th Mai, 1587.

† Undated. MSS. de Henri Egerton. Vol. xx. Lettre. E 1.

believe that the best lig
thing more profitable fo
upon which all your
takes from you all for
too slow to do any good
to venture than to finish.
to write to you, if I di
against anger. Your A
too much to my power
and in this hope he has
to express my displeas
patience which you exhi
I hope some will be left
If my age did not reckon
dacity, I would not have
those of my sex prattle m
my errors and follow my
an heart which never ce
may lead you by the
victory.

Upon the Earl of Ess
particularly new, but the
uninteresting*. Namely,
Elizabeth upon the mode

* Bibl. Cotton.

Ambassador in France should conduct himself towards Essex:—July 24, 1591. You are not to forget what special service you would do us in keeping your attention upon the dealings of our cousin and general lieutenant the Earl of Essex, and impart to him, from time to time, what is said of his actions in praise or blame. Give him good council how he may improve himself, by doing which you will fulfil the duty of a true servant and embassador. By this course you will give him ground to love you, although young noblemen are wont at their outset not to take good advice in good part. We command you, however, without adverting to such considerations, to deal openly and honourably with the Earl.

Another time Essex told the French minister, Beauvoir La Nocle, in London*:—I have thrice solicited the Queen, for the delivery of the commission to the Prince of Dombes, but thrice she has refused it me, although I have been on my knees to her for full two hours. She said at last:—it was not befitting that she should send to the Prince of Dombes a more distinguished envoy than to the King of France.

* Beauvoir's letter to Henry IV. of January 15, 1591. Ashridge collect. MSS. F. Egerton. Vol. xvi. Lettre, B. 1.

Monsieur de Bouillon, who went to E
French Ambassador in 1596, says of Essex
a young gentleman of excellent spirit and n
rage. Inasmuch, however, as he fails in
observance towards the Queen, and causes
dissatisfaction by reason of certain partic
tions †, it is thought that he has somewh
into disgrace, and that his present sea e
is to be considered as an honourable
absence. The nature of the Queen, howev
such that she does not lightly abandon
loves, and as the young Earl also enjoys g
sideration in the country, it is thought he w
his position, or else utterly ruin himself.

The latter result took place, and the Fr
bassador, Boissise, describes, how Essex
contended for the first place in the favour
beth‡. He then proceeds:—The Earl, on a
his return from Ireland contrary to the Que
mand, lost her favour, lived in his own h
would have been very fortunate had he
her anger to serve him for instruction. S

* Negociations de Bouillon et Sancy, MSS. de B
37.

† Affections particulières.

‡ MSS. de St. Germain, Vol. DCCXL. Letter of
1601.

that he was busied in some intrigues, and invited him on the 17th February, 1601, to a sitting of the Privy Council. He, however, excused himself, having received information that they intended to arrest him. The following day being the morning of Sunday, the keeper of the great seal with three other councillors went to him and summoned him in the name of the King to come to her, or for the purpose of redress to discover the grounds of his discontent. He replied:—I have discovered that the Lords Cobham and Raleigh wish to kill me, and I cannot without danger come to the court, where my enemies enjoy the greatest favour. — Those Lords could not be convinced of this, and wished to return to the court, but they were hindered from doing so, and complained, that violence had been done them, and that they had been watched as prisoners. They were, however, released, after the Earl had left his house about nine o'clock. For as he did not consider himself safe at home, he betook himself with twenty or thirty of his friends, (who however, had no other arms than their swords,) to the Mayor, and begged him to take them under his protection. This was, however, refused by the Mayor, and also by the sheriff. In the mean time those who attended him told the people, Cobham and Raleigh had wished to kill him; and some

offered to die for him, without, however, proceeding further or taking up arms. So soon as intelligence of this reached the court, Burleigh (Cecil's brother) received orders to proclaim, in the Queen's name, Essex and his associates as traitors, in the city. This was done in the first place before the residence of the Earl, and then in other parts of the city. When Essex heard this proclamation, he went forwards to attack Burleigh, but (some say) the latter did not wait for him. Hereupon, seeing that no one stirred in his favour, he would fain return to his house in the suburb, but found the door beset, and as he endeavoured nevertheless to enter by force, some shots were fired and persons wounded. He now betook himself to the river, and reached his residence by water, where he was besieged and com-

LETTER LX.

Bouillon upon Elizabeth and England.—Despatches of the Ambassador, Count Beaumont.—Nevers, Essex, Biron, Jesuits.—Elizabeth.—Earl of Clancarty.—Ireland.—Spanish war.—Sickness and death of Elizabeth.

Monsieur de Bouillon, ambassador to England, in his despatches of the year 1596, gives a general notice of the country and its Queen, Elizabeth *. He relates, that the nobility are deeply in debt, especially through extravagance in dress and servants. Merchants purchase the possessions of the nobles, persons of rank make humble marriages, and the lower classes of the people are comparatively very rich, inasmuch as they live well indeed, but yet with economy, and are in no wise oppressed with many taxes. The towns increase through commerce, &c.

The Government (Bouillon proceeds) is entirely

* Bibl. de Brienne, No. 37. fol.

in the hands of the Queen, who has, at the same time, established a wonderful obedience to herself, and is uncommonly loved and honoured by the people. The Parliament has usually had great consideration in the kingdom, but now turns itself whichever way the Queen wills. The prelates are dependent, the barons few in number. Neither dare to displease her, and the people has had such experience of the mildness and convenience of her government, that it grants her every thing at a wish. She possesses much spirit and courage, and is adorned with many great qualities. She speaks Spanish, French, Italian and Latin, knows something of the sciences and of history, understands accurately the affairs of her dominions, knows those of her neighbours, and judges them with understanding. She is hot and prone

with the Mayor of London, on the ground that he was in her naval service; in like manner that she long kept in confinement several persons under sentence, in order to enjoy, during the time, their revenues and those of their wives.

Although nearly sixty-three years of age, she yet dresses like a girl. Those whom she has loved have certainly had much power in affairs, but never all. She has always had the praiseworthy prudence to leave much in the hands of able statesmen, and by their consequence to maintain a balance against those who enjoyed her personal favour.

The Earl of Essex is at present most in favour. The high treasurer governs the weightiest affairs. He understands them thoroughly, is rich, and has considerable connections, entertains great designs, but has already a breaking constitution, &c.

The despatches of the Count Harley de Beaumont contain very instructive notices of the last years of Elizabeth and the first of James I. The most important will follow here in their order as to time *.

1. Report of April 21 and May 29, 1602:—Eliza-

* There are several of them in MSS. more or less perfect. 1. One vol. fol. in the Library of St. Germain. 2. Dupuy, in 4to. No. 327, 328. 3. Bibl. Roy. 1424, 1425. 4. Bibl. Roy. 8988—9001. 5. Brienne, No. 38—41, the most complete.

beth gave the Duke of Nevers a banquet at Richmond, and opened, after dinner, the ball with him in a gaillard, which she danced with wonderful agility for her age. Since the Duke of Alençon was here, she has done this honour to no foreign prince. On learning from the ambassador that Henry IV. had suffered from gout, she said:—This complaint is much more suitable to the Pope and the Emperor, who live constantly shut up in great repose, but not to the King of France who loves bodily exercises, the chase, and war.

2. Reports of May 24, June 10 and 18, 1602:—Henry IV. had declared himself obliged to preserve peace with Spain, for that his dominions were so poor, and filled with noxious humours, that they

my subjects dear to me. I am also tired of life, for nothing now contents my spirit or gives me any enjoyment *.

These words she accompanied with sighs and other expressions, which indicated great sorrow for the past, by which she gave me well to understand how deeply she lamented Essex. She said to me almost with tears:—"I well foresaw that the impatience of his spirit, and his ambitious conduct would involve him to his misfortune in evil designs." More than two years earlier, she told him in warning, he would do well to content himself with taking pleasure in displeasing her on all occasions, and in despising her person as insolently as he did, and that he should take good heed of touching her sceptre †. Thus was she compelled to punish him according to the laws of England and not according to her own, the which he had found far too mild and pleasant for him ever to fear that she would do him any displeasure. Her too affectionate and wholesome exhortations, however, were not able to re-

* Lassée de vivre, n'ayant plus rien qui lui contentât l'esprit, n'y à quoi elle prit plaisir.

† Qu'il se contentast de prendre plaisir de lui déplaire à toutes occasions, et de mépriser sa personne insolemment comme il faisait, et qu'il se gardast bien de toucher à son sceptre.

strain him from hastening t
her own passion stifled by o
she should look back to th
with anguish.

Beaumont replied:—It i
of your good disposition,
what you have once loved.
sooner master your sorrow
not only the security of your
thereon, but glory inestimabl
in that you courageously p
yourself,—preferred the welf
own inclinations, and knew
own person from the kingdo
subject, as I have often kn
much, and that she could no
gave the conversation anothe

3. Report of June 26, 16
the treason of the Duke of I
In such cases there is no
discard mercy as too hazar
measures. He who lays han
king grasps a fire-brand, w
there is no grace for him. T
description, would be to do
draw upon oneself eternal
able destruction. I doubt

France, unaccustomed to such events, and inclined to forgive and forget injuries, will suffer much before he can resolve to destroy a man whom he so greatly loved and honoured. But too well have I experienced how strong is this disposition of the mind, and I shall feel this sorrow through my life; where, however, the welfare of my dominions is concerned, where I was obliged to give an example, and look to the security of my successors, I was bound not to give way to my own inclination. I have found my advantage therein, and if the King so act, he will, in like manner, lay the foundation of repose, and relieve his soul from suspicion and mistrust, which hinder princes from reigning in freedom and satisfaction.

4. Report of July 14, 1602.—Beaumont declares himself against the Jesuits, and says:—It is not necessary to be a bad subject in order to be a good Christian. Obstinacy, bad disposition, indiscreet zeal for the Catholic religion, have brought that sect in England to destruction. They not merely refused to acknowledge and obey the Queen, but entered into conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and into alliances with enemies of the kingdom, in order to effect her downfall. Thus, instead of receiving from her indulgence protection and support, they have provoked the Queen in such fashion, that

she was compelled, on behalf of her own security, to practise severity, and to take from them all liberty.

5. Henry IV. to Beaumont, August 29, 1602:— I think with respect to the person, counsels, consideration, and power of the King of Spain, as Elizabeth thinks; and believe an attack would greatly shake and weaken his monarchy. If, on the other side of the question, I reflect upon the power and position of my kingdom, I must at present fear as much as hope from a war. In any case I in no respect detract from the advantages of my position, if I procrastinate, and look on in quiet while others fall to blows.

6. Reports of Beaumont of September 13, October 2, November 1, 3, 20, and December 18, 1602:—

herself. To this is to be added, a new inclination for the Earl of Clancarty, a handsome, brave, Irish nobleman. This makes her cheerful, full of hope, and good confidence in respect of her age. This inclination is moreover favoured by the whole court with such art that I cannot sufficiently wonder at it.

The affairs of Ireland prosper, so that not a single rebel keeps the field. I believe that this prosperous condition of things proceeds from the favour which that Irish Earl enjoys here. On the other hand, he is very cold by nature and in his love, and has neither understanding nor conduct sufficient to lift himself high, although there is no lack of counsel and support to him. Flatterers of the court, to curry favour, say, that he resembles Essex; on the other hand, the Queen declares, with equal dissimulation, that she cannot love him, inasmuch as he recalls her sorrow for the Earl; and this contest occupies the entire court.

7. Report of March 13, 1603:—The Queen answered to my request for an audience; That I must excuse her for some days, until the mourning for the death of the Countess of Nottingham, for whom she has shed many tears and evinced great affliction.

8. Despatch of March 15, 1603:—The Queen has been unwell these seven or eight days. She has

signed the pardon of the I
conditions which he, as
accept.

9. Despatch of Marc
health goes on ill, and not
vented her from shewing
the death of the Countess
alleged in excuse to me.
uneasiness in the city, and
have proposed this morni
the evil increase, to close a
kingdom. The Queen ha
and eats much less than u
no fever, she yet suffers fr
and from such an heat of t
that she is obliged to cool h
the dry and burning ph
torments, may not stifle her
disorder arises from her di
taken place with Miss A
it proceeds from Irish affa
has compelled her (in con
and spirit) to accord
Tyrone; others again will
the death of Lord Essex
her. It is certain that she
lancholy in her countenance

of business.—It is, however, a more probable version that the sufferings natural to her age, and the apprehension of approaching death, are the main causes of the whole. For, without reckoning that she endeavours by a regular life and moderation in the movements of her mind with the greatest care to preserve her health, I am convinced, that the causes above mentioned, could not suffice to set body and spirit in such commotion, and that she should be so hotly affected.

10. Report of March 24, 1603:—Three days back, the Queen was given up; she had long lain in a cold sweat and had not spoken. Some time before, she said, I no longer wish to live, and desire to die. Yesterday and the day before she began to find repose, and felt better, after, to her great relief, a small abscess had burst in her throat. She takes no medicine whatever. She has only been in bed two days; she refused positively to take to it sooner, out of fear, as some believe, of a prediction that she would die in it! She is moreover said not to be right in her senses. This is, however, not the fact, and she has only had some slight wanderings (reveries) at intervals.

11. Report of March 28, 1603:—The Queen is already quite exhausted, and speaks not a word sometimes for two or three hours together. For

these last two days, she has had her finger almost continually in her mouth, and sits upon cushions without ever rising, or laying herself quite down, her eyes open and fixed upon the ground. Her long vigil and the want of nourishment have exhausted her frame, of itself dried up and weak, and has occasioned heat in the stomach and a burning up of all her juices for these ten or twelve days past.

This morning the Queen's music has gone to her; I believe she means to die as gaily as she has lived.

12. Report of April 1, 1603:—The Queen hastens to her end, and is given up by all the physicians. They have put her into bed almost by force, after she had set upon cushions for ten days, and has rested barely an hour in each day in her clothes. She seemed lately to be better, and called for meat broths, which gave new hopes to all. Soon after this, however, her speech began to fail her; and since, she has eat nothing and lies still upon her side, without speaking or looking at any one. Yesterday she caused some meditations, among others, those of Monsieur du Plessis * to be read to her. I

* Probably, Mornay Du Plessis, whom she had known as Ambassador from Henry IV. His Traité de la Vie et de la

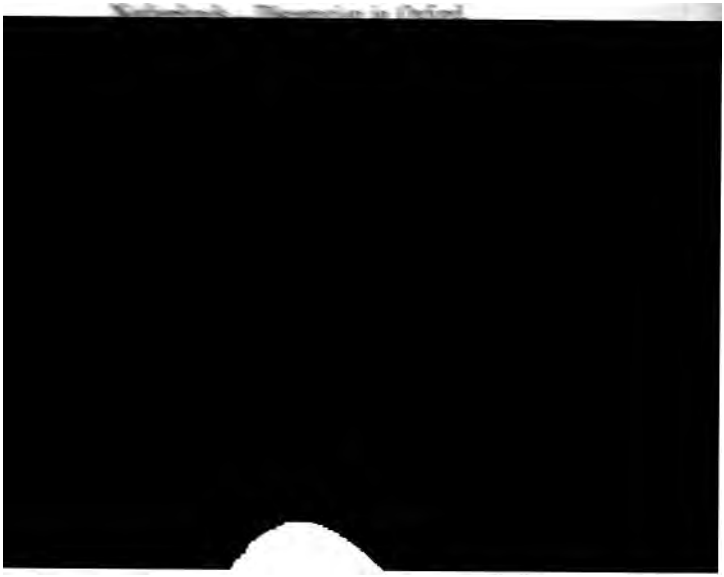
do not believe that in this condition she will make a testament, or name her successor. Many say, that Cecil is the cause of the Queen's death, inasmuch as she was once angry with him. He has certainly connections with James of Scotland and his Queen, who exercises great influence.

13. April 5, 1603:—The 3rd of this month, at three in the morning, the Queen very gently gave up the ghost (très doucement). She was already, on the day before, deprived of speech, and reposed for five hours before she died.

Mort published at Geneva in 1575, may, perhaps, have been the work of this illustrious author, which afforded consolation to the dying moments of Elizabeth. [Tr.]

LETTER LXI.

[redacted] of James I. and Elizabeth.—Englishmen and Scotsmen.—Severity of James.—His remembrancer towards the fair sex.—Lord [redacted].—Theobalds.—The Queen Anne.—Cobham's [redacted].—Bloody prospects.—James's love of the chase.—[redacted] with Spain.—Financial difficulties.—Parliament.—James at Enmity with Scotland.—The Clergy.—James's love of peace.—James I.—Rome.—Religious affairs.—The [redacted]



of wisdom did for them to represent him as a new Solomon. This illusion, however, lasted scarcely a few months, and the greatest honour which historians now shew this King, is to pass rapidly over his reign, in order to arrive at the more attractive period of the rebellion. That rebellion, however, is as little to be understood without accurate knowledge of the history of James, as the French revolution without a knowledge of the history of Louis XV. For which reason I have given myself special and not unsuccessful pains, to obtain information upon him and his time.

Let us first listen to the judgment of the greatest King of his day, Henry IV., upon James I. In a letter of March 13, 1603, he writes to the Count Beaumont:—He displays such levity and want of thought in all his words and actions, that it is difficult to build upon him. He deals with Rome, Spain, and every power exactly as with me, but, in truth, attaches himself to none; moves in this or that direction on account of this or that expectation suggested to him by some about him, but ascertains neither the foundation nor merits of the subject,—so that, as I foresee, he will let himself be surprised in all things.

The following judgment is taken from a diplo-

[redacted] report of Monsieur de Villeroi of August 15, [redacted]. King James is governed by a small number of favourites, generally mere Scottish gentlemen of no great quality, who are always about him, and see and hear whatever passes. He himself is very free in his discourses, which touch upon every occurrence within or without the kingdom. These favourites are for the most part easy to live with, but very extravagant. The Council consists half of Englishmen, half of Scotchmen, although the King in truth has most of them under his thumb, at least with respect to matters which he takes to heart.

The courtiers are divided into two parties: The one is led by the Earl of Mar, a man of affairs, who has more weight at this moment than any one else, English or Scotch. He is favoured by Cecil, Hume,

of the female sex, that the offence of Stirling and another old dispute regarding her son: manet altâ mente repostum.

I return now to the diplomatic reports of Beaumont exclusively.

1. Report of April, 8, 1603. We may conceive that commotion may have been prevented on the occasion of this change of sovereigns, by the profound obedience, which the deceased Queen founded and maintained in such a prudent manner among her subjects; by the example of her justice and moderation, and the peace, of nearly forty-four years duration; by the depression of the impoverished and shackled nobility; by the wealth of the people at large, grown apprehensive of its loss; finally by the weakness and disorder of the Catholics. Time can alone instruct us whether what chance and fear have thus brought to bear, can be continued by counsel and wisdom, and whether the King of Scotland will be as fortunate in preserving his heritage, as he has been in taking possession thereof. For I am of opinion, that as much prudence as good fortune is necessary for managing with this people, and still more for effecting an union between Scotch and English men, and removing jealousy and mistrust from both.

The people of London appear strangely barbarous

and ungrateful to the memory of Elizabeth, in that (after such long standing almost idolatrous worship) they lighted, on the day of her decease, bonfires in honour of her successor.

2. Reports of April 8, 14, and 26, 1603. Elizabeth is reproached with having made no presents or legacies, and greater liberality is looked for in her successor.

The admiral and Cecil tell me, that some days before her death, Elizabeth declared to them in confidence, that she acknowledged no other successor than James, and when her speech had already failed her, the two above-mentioned, in the presence of other councillors, expressed a request that the Queen would give a sign confirmatory of what she had disclosed to them. She laid her hand upon her head as

ment towards her, every one must yet acknowledge that the former owes his elevation, the latter their welfare and preservation, to the Queen.

3. Report of May 1, 1603. As soon as the news of Elizabeth's death reached Madrid*, the Jesuits waited on Philip III., and three or four were despatched to England disguised as soldiers or merchants.

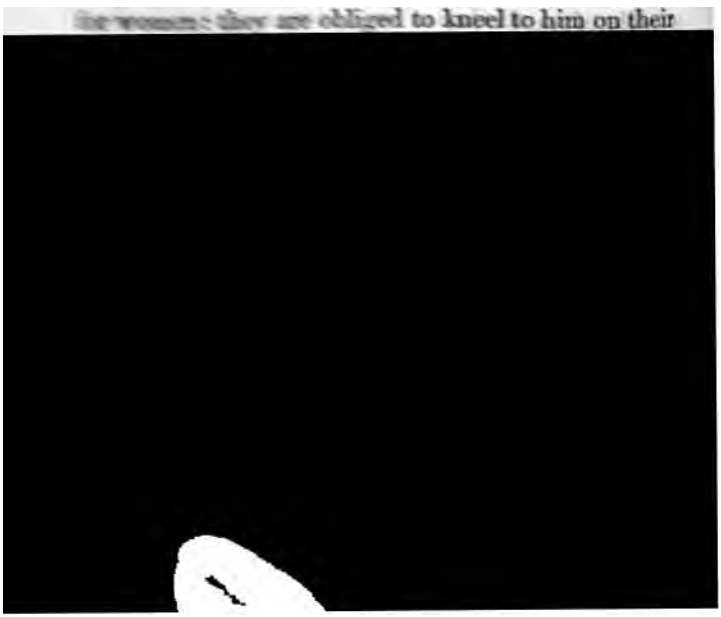
4. Reports of May 2, 7, 12, and 17, 1603. It is said that Cecil is doubtful as to his position, finding the King partly better informed, partly more obstinate than he thought. Cobham calls Cecil no other than a traitor. Raleigh is hated throughout the kingdom. The new Queen is enterprising, and affairs are embroiled. I will not conceal from you (says Beaumont), that I have acquaintances and intelligences enough to enable me to sow and cultivate dissensions, so far as your majesty may instruct me to do so. Not that I advise such a course, or offer myself to conduct it, for I do not approve it, it is neither consonant to reason nor to my inclination †.

The jealousy of the English towards the Scotch increases, and is exasperated to such a degree, that

* This account is taken from the dispatches of Barrault, St. Germain, MSS. Vol. 799.

† According to Henry IVth's letters of August 26, 1603, he refused to profit by these suggestions, or to excite any disturbances.

some flame may well burst forth in consequence. For the latter are hungry, ambitious, and impatient; they wish to profit by the favour of the King, so long as it continues at their disposal, and to fix themselves in the public offices. The English, on the other hand, are the less disposed to endure anything to their detriment, as they are for the most part little edified with the person or mode of dealing of the King, and declare openly enough that they were deceived in the opinion they were led to entertain of him. He takes great pleasure in speaking openly and at table, and to open scholastic disputations on subjects of all descriptions, particularly religious. He also piques himself on great contempt for women; they are obliged to kneel to him on their



States General of Holland. He has found England as much ruined and torn to pieces by a peace of forty-four years' duration, as though she had been at war for fifty-four!!

The Scots obtain every thing, even the places already given away by Elizabeth, as well as great presents from the domains of the Crown. Many are furious against Cecil, as having allied himself against them with the Scots, and counselling this tyranny, in order to maintain himself in power by assistance of the latter.

5. Reports of May 24 and 28, 1603. The discontent increases from day to day on various grounds, and spreads itself over all classes. The people are sensible of no alleviation in any quarter, and having been habituated to see Elizabeth in public, to give her applause and receive her thanks, it appears to them strange that this king should despise them and live in so complete retirement. They exclaim aloud, the residence at Theobald's will spoil him. The upper classes are furious against the Scotch; nay, one has suffered the expression to escape him, that they must have Scotch vespers like the Sicilian.

James said to me:—Your Majesty and he were absolute monarchs in their dominions, and in no respect dependent on the counsels or consent of their subjects.—He springs in this manner from one subject

to another, adhering to and thoroughly discussing none.

6. Reports of June 13, and July 10 and 17, 160[illegible]. The contempt in which the King is held increases daily, and although some Scotchmen govern him through Cecil, the greater number of them are even less contented than the English, and many are departed in dudgeon. The arrival of the Queen is expected, upon whom all the discontented rest their hopes, and found their projects for stirring the present state of things (remner). The Catholics also look upon her as their last refuge, the King having forgotten his promise, his signature, and all gratitude for their fidelity. Instead of treating them well, he treats them with even greater cruelty than did the deceased Queen.

Although the number of the malcontents increases, I fear little, for there are few persons in England who have courage and design. There is, however, good reason for anxiety, that the King may let himself be dazzled by the offers of the Spaniards, as he is generally inclined to peace, and entertains a superstitious fancy that his conscience does not allow him to support the Dutch. The conduct of his council is no less undecided, presumptuous, neglectful, and senseless.

King James said to me that he drank, like a [illegible]

brother, to the prosperity of your Majesty; also, that not for a long time, not for a century, had two kings of their quality been to be found.

7. Report of July 17, 1603.—The Queen shews herself firm enough in her opinion, but (after the fashion of women) opposes the King more in domestic trifles than in great and important affairs. She is not pliant enough to give way to him in one place, in order to win more consideration and influence in another.

Many restless persons, who encouraged her to revenge herself on her enemies, and to obtain great influence in affairs, have found in her neither capacity nor inclination for such an undertaking, whether from weakness, or mistrust arising out of their excessive heat and impatience.

8. Reports of August 13, 16, and 21, 1603. Cobham's conspiracy gives the King uncommon anxiety, but still more labour and vexation to Cecil. I recognize so many seeds of unsoundness in England, so much is brewing in silence, and so many events appear to be inevitable, as to induce me to maintain that for an hundred years to come, this kingdom will hardly misuse its prosperity to any other purpose than its own injury.

The Queen said to me:—"My husband ruins his affairs by excessive kindness and carelessness. He

will never govern in safety, unless he make
concession to the Catholics. I am at heart a
tholic, and have sought, though in vain, to co
my husband."

God grant that the too great simplicity of James
his small experience in dealings with the world,
not bring some disaster on his friends. For I fo
in what danger he is of committing great errors,
by confusion and neglect drawing great calam
upon his government, such as he will hardly b
condition to avoid and contend against. Thus
convinced that the Scots now hate the English
than ever. James gave the ambassadors of
mark and Brunswick a banquet, at which he
charge of the honours of his house. The good
drank, namely, before all present, and after the
nocence of the earlier ages, to such purpose, tha
fell on the table, after having sat at it for
hours.

The Queen complains that she obtains no
money; I suggest to Your Majesty, in confidenc
supply her in secret *.

All consideration, and the burthen of all emp
ments, rests on the shoulders of Cecil; but this

* Henry found this too dangerous. Letter of Septemb
1603.

then, and the jealousy which attends it, both increase to such a degree, that I in fact fear he will no longer be able to avoid sinking under it. A few days back some one said to him, he must find himself much relieved under this reign, in that he was no longer compelled to address his sovereign kneeling, as in the time of the deceased Queen. He replied, however, Would to God that I yet spoke on my knees. Many wise persons are struck with this expression, as indicating either that Cecil does not trust his fortune, or that he fears some general calamity of the kingdom at large, which I myself (to speak freely), for reasons only too numerous, hold to be unavoidable.

9. Report of September 12, 1603. James is so passionately addicted to the chase, that he for the sake of it postpones all business, to great scandal *. I accompany him sometimes for several days, and am determined to become a good sportsman, or rather to pass myself off for such. For this is the only means to obtain converse with him, and to win his favour and some influence with him.

* Henry IV. sent to him Mons. de Vitry, a perfect master of the science of the chase, to insinuate himself into James's favour.



11. Reports of February 21, March 4, April 9, 1604. It is very difficult to judge of the present state of public affairs; most occurrences fall out ill, rather from ignorance and want of understanding, than bad intention.

Between the King and the Parliament, unpleasant controversies have already arisen. He is said to be in such rage, that he neither eats nor sleeps, and is become aware that he has been ill counselled. I cannot, however, in consideration of the weakness of his nature, believe that he has such a feeling, which might bring great prejudice to those who rule him. He has issued an ordinance, according to which he confers on seven Englishmen, and a like number of Scotch, the right of entering his chamber, hoping thereby to amalgamate them together and accustom them to order. They are, however, only become more violent, at which the whole court is scandalized.

The Union of England and Scotland finds opposition on both sides. They quarrel enough of themselves, without its requiring much art to keep them in the heat of their differences. It is not likely that James will go to Scotland in person to accomplish the measure of the Union; for without reckoning that the discontent increases both in Parliament and the country, he knows and fears the firm and ob-

[redacted] the Scottish nobility, and the in-
[redacted] the protestant preachers, and will hardly
[redacted] himself
[redacted] upon them for
[redacted]

[redacted] James V. and Mary of Lorraine. March
[redacted] 1564. [redacted] that the Union of
[redacted] Scotland may be put in the pre-
[redacted] in connexion with France. Yet
[redacted] to undertake to
[redacted]

[redacted] Scots are reminded with the usual
[redacted] with a warning. The court is full
[redacted] expecting the Duke of
[redacted] power and in-

Spaniards. Cecil only is of opinion that they must be opposed with constancy.

James has written to the lower house a letter full of reproaches, and in a style which I submit privately to the judgement of your Majesty, only to remark, that this mode of proceeding is very unusual and very prejudicial to the Prince. The letter has also been very ill taken; great complaints have been raised of it, and very bitter and hostile judgements fallen upon it. The King, therefore, determined to tell the lower house, in a second letter, that he had not intended to offend them, but only to gain them over to reason. They, however, are by no means satisfied; and if they were more angry and spoke more bitterly of the first letter, they scoff more at the second.

King James, in spite of all this, lives in the conviction that he is much wiser than all his councillors; and is able, in spite of all complications, to remain neuter, and enjoy peace and repose. I, on the other hand, contemplate the approach of much misfortune and confusion; and can assure your Majesty, that you have rather reason to reflect on and compassionate his perversity and its ruinous results, than to fear his power or the romantic plans of the Queen against France. Scotland, moreover, by reason of the perverse manner in which they have

attempted to push forward her union with England, is entirely inclined to the French, and the spirit of the English is buried in the grave of Elizabeth.

14. Reports of June 7 and 14, 1604. The Queen of England is so light-minded and blind to consequences, that she says aloud, she hopes her son will one day overrun France as well as his ancestor Henry V. She asserts, moreover, in order to justify this prediction, that he is like that king.

The English are now corrupted and fallen away, little stedfast in their religion, not devoted to their king either in love or obedience. By these reasons, the Spaniards have already by arts, flatteries, and money, won many, and will win more, so soon as peace shall be concluded and the commerce free. On the other hand, it may be maintained that, the more the Spaniards come together with the English, the more they will be hated.

The good Elizabeth! whose memory one cannot sufficiently honour! Her successor is not in condition to encourage disputes among his neighbours, or to derive advantage from them; he has enough to do with the daily increasing dissensions of his court. Consider, for pity's sake, what must be the state and condition of a prince, whom the preachers publicly from the pulpit assail, whom the comedians

tropolis bring upon the stage, whose wife
these representations in order to enjoy the
ainst her husband, whom the parliament
nd despises, and who is universally hated
hole people.

day before yeste (June 12,) he made a
full of anger in t lower house. They lis-
to him and were s it; soon after, however,
stified themselves n writing against all his
tions, and declared that those Lords who had
the Commons to the King, had in great
pelled the latter to the measures which dis-
the King. Thus is he misguided and be-
by the one party, and insulted and despised
other.

Henry IV. to Beaumont. June 21, 1604.
opinion the King of England must be suf-
conclude peace according to his opinion
nation; without disturbing or endeavouring
him, whether through services or counter
tions.

ort of Beaumont. July 8, 1604. The
r ever following the chase in order to
spirit, saddened and discomposed by in-
secret vexations, caused him by the mis-
the Queen; as also to rid himself of a

portion of the wrath which he entertains against the lower house and the clergy.

A puritanical priest compared him to Jeroboam, and told him to his face, he had too little love and care for his subjects, to whom he owed so much. That instead of ruling with wisdom and dignity he let himself be governed by a few, who by their intrigues seduced him to evil resolutions and abused his kindness. For proof, this preacher cited an endless list of individual traits relating to church and state, which irritated the King to the utmost, so that he caused the preacher to be arrested, and declared he had never in Scotland heard so scandalous a preacher, or had greater reason for indignation against any one.

Cecil, through the power and adroitness of his mind, keeps to himself the rudder of the state, and might be able to sail in every direction, but his courage falls short of his capacity and his influence.

17. Report of October 22, 1604. So long as James lives, he will on no provocation commence a war, but will endeavour to maintain peace, even by bad, foolish, and disgraceful means. He hates war from habit, principle, and disposition, and will (to use his own words) avoid it like his own damnation. For he was born and bred up with a base and weak

heart, and imagines (after the manner of princes who devote themselves to religion, the sciences, and sloth,) that he can never be forced into a war against his will, by duty or conscience, or forcible and legitimate reasons. To this is to be added, that he feels himself, by reason of his weakness, neglect, and inexperience, not competent to public affairs, and keeps himself away from them. Thus he now believes that during peace he may be able with less disgrace to throw the weight upon others, and conceal his own errors more easily, than in war, and so devote himself in all liberty according to his natural bent, to repose and pleasures.

So far the King; but the Queen endeavours (in order to lay a better foundation for her designs) hourly to corrupt the spirit and disposition of the Prince Henry of Wales, by flattering his little passions, by diverting him from his lessons and exercises, and (to the vexation of his father) representing the sciences to him as unworthy of a great commander and conqueror. She seeks, moreover, to excite his youthful soul in favour of Spain, by recommending to him a marriage with the Infanta. She has also carried the point with the King of having the Prince in future resident in her court, and said to me with as much impudence as imprudence: "It is time that I should have possession of the Prince

and gain his affection, for the King drinks so much, and conducts himself so ill in every respect, that I expect an early and evil result."—I know that she grounds herself in this not only on the King's bad way of life, but also on this: that, according to her expressions, the men of the house of Lennox have generally in consequence of excessive drinking died in their fortieth year, or become quite imbecile. Finally, she has with an impious and detestable curiosity consulted astrologers, and believed their predictions. The King in the meantime growing in fact daily more weak and contemptible, the consideration of the Queen increases in proportion.

In addition to the distress and domestic dissension, which the King derives from the contempt and aversion of the Queen, he is perplexed by fear and jealousy respecting the alteration which is observable in the Prince of Wales, and produced by his mother. On the other side, the King's reputation suffers much by base and feeble actions, which are remarked in his private conduct and life.

He has by confused and injudicious expense got himself into such necessity, that he knows not where to find the means of supporting his state. A proposal for a loan, on the part of the richest persons in the country has been very ill received, and by many peremptorily refused.

18. November 22, December 21 and 27, 1604. The Queen has delivered to her husband the letter of the Spanish ambassador, with which he sent to her a letter of the Pope upon the reconciliation of England with the Church of Rome. She seems to me to think more on her ballets than on her honour and her friends. She is also much provoked with her brother the Duke of Holstein, inasmuch as he (instructed thereto by her mother and her husband) has spoken to her too freely on the subject of her misconduct.

The King is so disgusted with the importunity, the dissatisfaction, the pasquinades to which he has been subjected since his return to this city, that he intends to leave it—like sick persons, who imagine that they are to be relieved from their ailments by a change of air.

19. January 12, and February 3, 1605. The Catholics are in despair at their hard treatment, and begin to plot. The Puritans, on the other hand, are furious, and speak very irreverently of the King's person, on account of which he, as I know, is in great anxiety. Yet he remains for the sake of the chase in Huntingdon, and is still more afraid of certain predictions and omens regarding his fate and that of the kingdom.

20. The minister Villeroi to Beaumont. January

16, 1605. We cannot sufficiently wonder that the Pope should have made choice of the Spanish ambassador to sound the Queen and induce her to Catholicism, without imparting to us a word of the matter. All accounts from Rome sing (chantent) of nothing but the confidence of the Pope in the King, in respect to English affairs; but the court of Rome is as deceitful as others, and one must be very cunning and sly, in order to escape being allured and made prize of.

21. February 3 and 21, April 11, and May 6, 1605. The Spanish ambassador has delivered no letter of the Pope to the Queen, but only written to her that he had a commission to that purpose.

Clement VIII. has further begged the King, if he

tholic in his opinion, he proceeds therewith to adopt a new measure of severity against the Catholics, and to exact the old contributions from them. How does this accord with the mission of Lindsay to Rome? who, however, has placed him there also in a disagreeable predicament. Every where disorder, contradiction, hypocrisy, imprudence, weakness, want of knowledge, &c.

The King's hypocrisy is prodigious. He believes himself to be better versed in theology than Paul or Augustine, and will seriously neither change his religion, nor relieve the Catholics from oppression.

Several Englishmen believe that if the Prince of Wales marry the Infanta, she will receive the Netherlands as a portion. Thus are they enticed.

22. Henry IV. to Beaumont. May 27, and July 19, 1605. I wish King James to know, that if fear of the arms of Spain were all that restrained me from a more explicit declaration in favour of the Netherlands, I would soon come to a decision and take the jump. But I am restrained rather by my respect for the justice which I owe my other neighbours, and which is ever all powerful with me. For I am more jealous of my reputation, and the welfare and friendship of my good allies, than greedy to extend my dominion at the cost of others, which is plainly evinced by my conduct. For I am too well

acquainted with the present situation of Spain and Christendom, not to know, with what advantage I might avail myself of present circumstances, and commence war.

The Catholics are now worse treated in England than in the time of Elizabeth. They lay the blame of this on Cecil, not because he is a friend of the Puritans, but because he imagines that this policy is serviceable to his king and country. I wish that Cecil may moderate himself; yet conduct yourself so that the King and his council may conceive no suspicion against me. For the English are naturally jealous, and misuse their neighbours under the pretexts of piety and friendship, and conduct themselves throughout with so much hypocrisy and dissimulation, that it is difficult to secure oneself against their cunning. The friendship of Spain seems more dangerous than her arms; and they have no conscience about engaging themselves with any one. If they are detected, they are more angry at their failure than ashamed of the transaction. If one shew them mildness and attention, they practice double cunning, and endeavour still better to hide and carry on their projects.

2. July 30, 1606. King Christian IV. of Denmark is arrived here. His fleet is handsome, and the Admiral's ship of 1500 tons is gilded and covered

with flags. There belong to his suite, among others, 100 body guards, dressed in blue velvet and silver, twelve trumpeters, twelve pages, the sailors and soldiers dressed in like manner, but in cloth. The King of England entertains them all free of expense. They pass nearly the whole Sunday in church.

4. August 12, 22, and 28, 1606.—The King of Denmark begins to tire, and wishes to depart sooner than he intended. They have disgusted him with the chase. There will be no further tournament, as the knights of the flaming pillar have resolved to leave poor Merlin in repose, and to save the money which the discovery of his great secrets would have cost them. I therefore fear that it will be with this coming together of the two Kings, as with all similar ones, the parting will be less cordial than the meeting. The Danes appear coarse and vulgar to the English, and are despised by them, the English pass with the Danes for singularly proud.

Yesterday (August 21) the King of Denmark finally took leave of King James. He leaves behind him in this court a great reputation, especially that of a liberal prince.

He frequently made sport of the English Admiral (Nottingham), an old man with a young wife. On the day of his departure he was holding a watch in his hand, and the Queen and that Admiral approached

and asked him what time it was. King Christian, upon this question, made the sign of horns several times with two fingers, to shew that it was two o'clock, but laughed at the same time with the Queen in such manner that the Admiral felt himself singularly offended. On his return home, he commanded his wife to indite a letter to St. Clair, a confidential servant of the King (of Denmark), in which she told him, he was but a petty King, and she as virtuous a woman as either his mother, or his wife, or his sister, and that the child with which she was pregnant (King Christian and the Queen had said something respecting it,) belonged to her husband, so as none of those the Queen had borne belonged to the King. St. Clair shewed this letter to his master, who was fain to return then and there on the instant to revenge himself on the Admiral. His councillors, however, restraining him from this, he sent the letter to the Queen, and begged her, with her husband, to procure him satisfaction. The Queen sent immediately for the poor lady, uttered to her a thousand coarse expressions, treated her like a bastard, (she is grand-daughter to a bastard in Scotland,) drove her from court, and struck her off the list of her establishment.

5. Villeroi to La Boderie. Sept. 9, 1606. The King, Henry IV., has taken delight in the story of

the Admiral and his wife, as will be the case with others like him.

6. August and Sept. 1, 1606. The King bestows no time on business, and whatever consideration his councillors may enjoy they do not choose to decide alone on weighty questions.

Scarcely did he see himself rid of the King of Denmark, when he began to speak of settling great hunting parties, upon which Salisbury, in the name of the Council, went to him and begged he would delay his departure till the end of the week. But notwithstanding that Salisbury, on his knees, made the most pressing representations to him, James remained immoveable, and fell into such a passion as to cry out:—"they would be the death of him, they had better send him back to Scotland, &c."

The King has received an anonymous letter, in which he is told that he ought to think on the good government of his people, and not be for ever running after wild animals. If he did not use moderation in this, they would poison all his hounds. He would do well to take example from the King of Denmark, and devote himself to really king-like employments; he would otherwise lose all affection and respect on the part of his people, and draw upon himself every execration which could be pro-

nounced upon a bad King for himself and his posterity.

7. October 31, and December 18, 1606. The King is still in constant anger against heaven, because it does not rain, and therefore —— his dogs become dull!

A placard has been seen in London in which the King is threatened with death on account of his hard usage of the Catholics, and is roughly handled on account of the miserable conduct of his government. All this causes him the most anxiety, as up to this moment he has passed in his own opinion for one of the most learned and wisest of princes, and now is astonished that a contrary opinion is entertained of him. He is also much attached to life,

I feel as if the times of Henry III. were before my eyes. The people is overburthened, and no one is paid—but there are favourites here—as then, &c.

The Queen is preparing a ball, which is to cost 30,000 dollars. Every one is furious at it, and a wag said: In France a Prince has been born, in Spain another, and for both no such expence has been made, as here on account of one daughter!

The King also gives away great revenues without the knowledge of his minister.

A preacher spoke in the principal church of London with the greatest impudence of all Scotchmen—as corrupt, fit for nothing except to do evil, and heaped every reproach upon them. As he made no exception in favour of any one, he was sent to the Tower.

9. April 5, 1606. I caused certain players to be forbid from acting the history of the Duke of Biron; when, however, they saw that the whole court had left the town, they persisted in acting it; nay, they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle de Verneuil. The former, having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them were arrested, but the principal person, the author, escaped.

One or two days before, they had brought forward

him out of Rome. The Queen, who spoke of this to me, makes herself merry upon it, and asserts that divers of the Council (especially Salisbury) urge him towards this, because they know that he will be involved thereby in interminable embarrassments, and must leave the Government to them in the meanwhile. The main origin of it, however, is certainly his presumption, in that he believes himself to understand more of theology than all the doctors in the world, and if any other motive is mixed up with this, it is the desire to obtain more consideration among the Lutherans and Calvinists, and to play the part of mediator between them.

12. The French Ambassador, Spifame, to the Minister Puysieux. May 21, 1611*. King James told me: He was an enemy to rebellions and to the secret intrigues which subjects entered into against their rulers. If, however, the reformers in France, after the death of Henry IV., had conceived suspicions, they had done so not without reason, as they were every where put in the back ground and dismissed, but the Jesuits, on the other hand, (those contrivers of disturbance in all countries,) favoured. The Queen will one day experience, how prejudicially they have every where operated, nay, he might

* Ambassades, MSS. de St. Germ. 965.

adduce many grounds to shew that they were
of the death of Henry IV., as they daily advo
the doctrine of king-killing. Even Bouilly h
part in affairs, and Sully, who had served with
success, had been dismissed. This grieved him
what friendship could he expect from France,
his enemies were so powerful.

Spifame sought to rebut this, and observed,
respect to Sully: he took to himself so much
the late King, that the majority of the great m
the kingdom were discontented thereat. He w
also to retire, on finding that he could not
tain that consideration as he could wish. Y
Queen only gave him his congé at his secon
plication, and he carries away with him gre
ward for his services.

13. Spifame to Puysieux. Nov. 18, and D
1612. I hold the death of Prince Henry to
been natural. Two days after his decease,
entered the house in which the body was
watched, at about ten in the evening, a young
entirely naked, and about the age and stature o
Prince. He cried aloud, that he was sent
God, who had caused the soul of the Princ
transmigrate into his body. He ordered the wat
to shew him the body, and to inform the
that he had matters of great importance to

municate to him in the name of the Lord. That it was the more necessary to make haste, as his commission was for twenty-four hours only. He was arrested, watched, and on the following day again questioned, without any thing of consequence being extracted from him. In the afternoon he escaped, resumed his clothes, which he had laid in a grave, and since then nothing further has been heard of him.

On the subject of the Prince of Wales, La Boderie asserts in several reports:—That he is spirited and agile, unwilling, however, to let himself be governed by others, but follows his own inclination, and was therefore surrounded by his parents with persons who were devoted to them, that he might not indulge in too much liberty *.

* Report of Aug. 2 and Oct. 21, 1607, and of June 5, 1608.



Arabella Stuart.—

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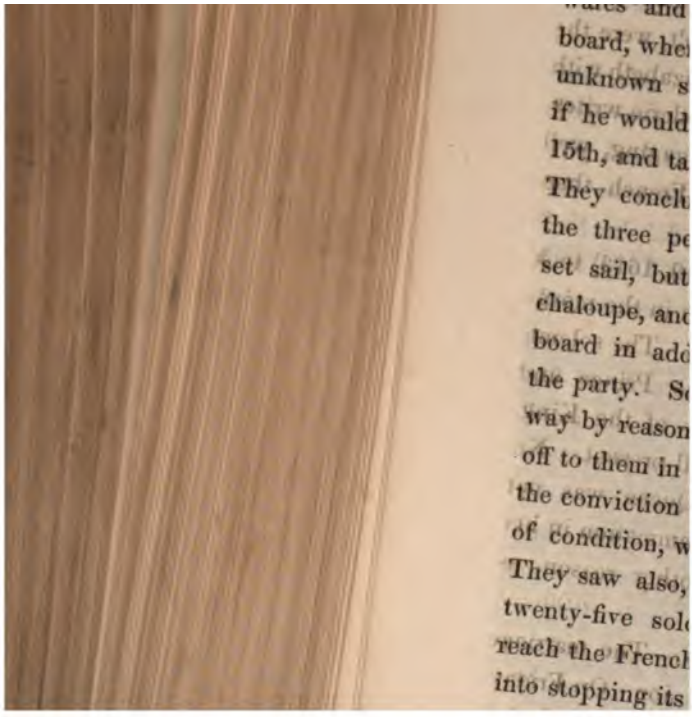
Queen Elizabeth. There are two letters of the French ambassador, Spifame, respecting an attempt of the unfortunate Arabella at escape *.

1. June 17, 1611. I wrote, some time back, that the King had caused his cousin to be conveyed twelve or fifteen miles from London, but had put the Earl of Hertford in the Tower, because (in breach of the promise given by Arabella) he had married her without the knowledge of the King, and the latter believed that other designs were connected with this proceeding.

Although the pair were removed upwards of fifteen miles distant from one another, they escaped on Thursday, the 14th of this month, at the same hour of the evening. When the officer of the watch on service went his rounds, the servant of the Earl excused him from appearing at his door on account of tooth-ache; and Arabella rode in man's attire to a harbour near Greenwich, where they met and set sail. The flight of the Earl occasioned little trouble to the King, but that of Arabella more, so that she is pursued in every way, and it is forbidden to assist her on pain of high treason.

2. June 24, 1611. A French ship of twenty-five

* Spifame lettres et depeches. St. Germain, Vol. 765. p. 207. 209, 210.



seizure of her person, and conducted her to London, where the King kept her prisoner till her death.

Of better auspices, but also of sad result, were the betrothal and marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine Frederick. La Boderie writes, June 1, 1608:—She is handsome, engaging, well brought up, and speaks much better French than her brother.

The betrothal (says Spifame, Jan. 12, 1613) took place on the 7th of this month, at ten in the morning, in the great hall at Whitehall *. The solemn words having been pronounced, the Prince and Princess received the congratulations of the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all present. No ambassadors were invited. The Queen was not present, either on account of an inflammation in her foot, as she pretended, or for another reason, as others believe †.

March 1st, 1613. Spifame writes:—The marriage festivities lasted five days in succession. On Friday, the 22d February, running at the ring, and fire-

* St. Germain, MSS. Vol. 767.

† Selby says, in his history of James and Charles I., Queen Anne so much scorned and undervalued the Pfalzgrave for a husband unto the Lady Elizabeth, that she would call her Goodwife Pfalzgrave.



LETTER LXIII.

Upon the Earl of Somerset.—Extracts from the reports of the Ambassador Desmarets upon James, his wife, Villiers, &c.

The favourites of James I. play, alas! so great a part in the history of his reign, that every intelligence respecting them must be welcome. The following, upon the Earl of Somerset, is from a cotemporary Paris MS. *

Robert Carr, the fourth son of a Scotch gentleman, was for four or five years valet de chambre of the King, and in 1609, in the twentieth year of his age, broke his leg by falling with his horse. James, in whose presence this happened, was so affected, that he took personal charge of the cure, visited the patient nearly every day, and often remained with him a good hour.

* Vie et fin du Comte de Sommerset et de la Comtesse sa femme. St. Germain MSS. Vol. 740.

This was the origin of Carr's favour, and of t opinion in the King that he could form him exc lently well for the service of the state. In the La tongue, which the King himself taught him, made within a short time good progress, and pra tised also on the lute. His friend, Sir Overbury, man of understanding, persuaded him to establi himself in all possible ways in the favour of t King, and also undertook to instruct him in t conduct of affairs.

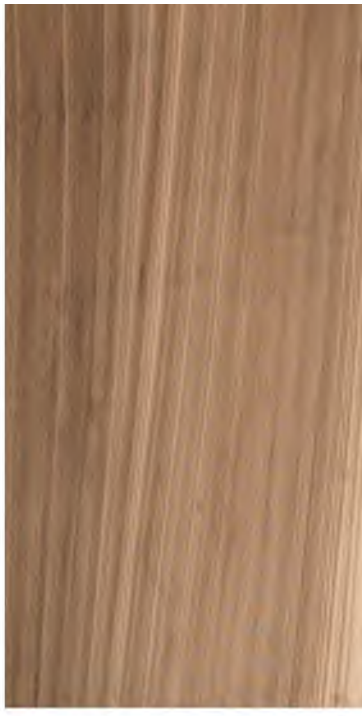
In this way, Carr became by degrees High Tre surer of Scotland, Lord Viscount Rochester, a Knight of the Garter. Prince Henry and Salisbu were, on the other hand, not inclined to him; t last (a presumptuous, ambitious, malignant, a crafty man,) especially was furious that a boy, u terly inexperienced in affairs, should be placed on level with himself, and should be elevated by nothi but the favour of the King. He put every stumblin block he could devise in his way; but, after Sali bury's death, Rochester was, in fact, secretary state, and took into his head, for the increase of h power, to marry the Countess of Essex, whose hu band was yet alive. Overbury endeavoured in a ways to dissuade him from this; prophesying fro it the ruin of both, and saying that it shewed n nobleness to espouse a married woman of bad lif

with whom he had himself lived in illicit intercourse. Rochester fell into fury at these representations, and betrayed some of them to the Countess, who was passionately in love with him.

She poisoned her husband, as they say, three or four times, which, however, only had the effect of making him lose his hair and nails, and having his breath so infected that he became still more offensive than before to his wife. At last he consented to declare himself impotent, in order to free himself from his infamous wife. The King favoured the separation, but the Archbishop of Canterbury opposed it so openly as to excite James's disfavour therefore. In the meanwhile, the other Bishops went into the business, and Essex avowed that he was incapable with his own wife, but capable with any other woman. Hereupon an inquiry was ordered into the virginity of the Countess, but another woman was substituted in her place.

Then followed the new marriage, with an expense not inferior to that which had been bestowed on the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth*. The King gave them effects worth a million of gold, and gave occasion thereby to the loudest scandal. The

* Spifame. December 6, 1613. St. Germain, Vol. 767.



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his knowledge of all the peculations which had taken place, drove the matter on to further persecution, and finally, to the poisoning of the unhappy man.

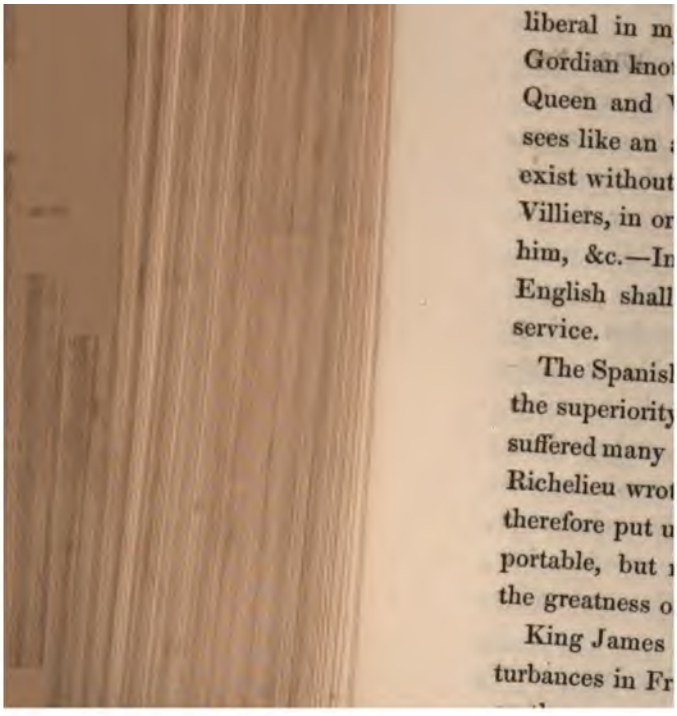
The further narration of the poisoning of Overbury, and the punishment of the parties, concurs with the known accounts. I therefore quit it to turn to some trifles from the reports of the French Ambassador Des Marets*. He writes:—I endeavour to obtain audiences from King James, for in his conversation sometimes this and sometimes that escapes him†. In truth, however, all his speeches end in smoke, and he never comes to deeds. He yet entertains a perfectly good opinion of himself, considers himself the arbiter of all Christendom, and specially the protector of France. If his counsels be not blindly followed, he makes such a noise and alarum that one would think him about to do wonders, but all is blown away with the winds. He wants alike money and courage.

Always and in every thing does King James insist upon flattery‡. As this coin costs us nothing, and he takes it for good money, it is easy to be liberal in the use of it.

* Dupuy MSS. No. 419—420.

† Letters of November 19 and December 31, 1615.

‡ February 3, 11, and 13, 1616.



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complains of a French agent having visited Ralcigh in prison, and offered him assistance towards his escape *.

* Letters to the King of France, of Sept. 9, 1618. Neg. d'Angleterre, Vol. xxxiv. p. 410.



James I. upon
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THE election
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litical views i
irreconcileable
1. Letter of
Spanish Amba
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allows of no conveyance of a crown on religious grounds. It prescribes obedience to kings and worldly authorities, even if they be Turks or infidels, and it is a well founded accusation against the Jesuits, that they wish to establish or depose kings at their pleasure. In the second place, the King of Spain has promised to mediate a good accord. In the third place, it is dangerous to acknowledge so sudden a conveyance of a crown at the will of the people*. On the other hand, the Palatinate at least should not be seized, for it belongs to the innocent children of Frederick.

2. Report of the French Ambassador, Tilliercs, in London, September 22, 1619†. King James throws the affair of Bohemia into confusion in every way, and says sometimes one thing, sometimes another. Thus, for example, he said:—Austria had not taken up his good views in a befitting manner, and that the embassy of the Viscount Dowcastle, (which had cost him 300,000 dollars) had been intended for the advantage of that power, of Germany, and of Christendom, all of which were in need of peace. Another time he attacked his son-in-law, for the having with-

* Dangereux d'arriver cette soudaine translation de couronne par l'autorité du peuple.

† St. Germain MSS., Vol. 768, p. 364.

out his consent accepted the crown of Bohemia, a
that things must be so directed that the King w
had the best right should remain in possessi
That the Archduke Ferdinand grounded his on
alleged gift from Spain; how this however could
valid, he could not comprehend.

He said again on this head: the deposition
kings in our times is something quite extraordina
It is true I know from history that such occurren
have sometimes taken place, but those times ex
no longer, and I fear above all things that they w
make a religious question of this election to a kin
dom.

On my asking him, after all these conversation
what I therefore should write to the King of Franc
he answered, he had as yet come to no fixed res
lution, but would inform me thereof as soon as h
should have formed such. We might do the sam
on our side. I see this much before me, that he wi
not engage in the matter unless forced by the mo
urgent necessity.

3. Report from the same, of February 22, 1620
The Baron Aune, the Elector Palatine's envo
was, in his first audience of the King, received n
even as the envoy of the most inconsiderable Princ

* P. 430.

but only as a private person. On the other hand, he has been since treated at Newmarket with such honours, that greater could not be shewn to the first Prince of France, sent in the name of your Majesty. From such instances you may judge of the judgement and understanding of the King, who there imagines that, because he is twenty leagues away from hence, no one knows his goings on.

The words which they exchanged were, however, less courteous. The first which the King addressed to him was:—"Mordieu! can you shew me a good ground for the Palatine's invasion of the property of another?" The Baron answered: there was here no question of an invasion, but of a possession, which heaven had sent in a wonderful manner, and the people had offered. So, (said the King, interrupting him,) you are of opinion that subjects can dispossess their Kings? You are come in good time to England to spread these principles among the people, that my subjects may drive me away, and place another in my room. The Baron replied:—"The conditions are not similar, for you are King by hereditary right, the King of Bohemia, by right of election. If the states have thus chosen my master, I hold him for a legitimate King, and not for an usurper. I also wonder that your Majesty chooses not to acknowledge him and treat him as a King, as

you have acted towards the King of Sweden, who i
a mere usurper. Every thing, moreover, which m
master has done has been by your advice." Kin
James denied this with oaths and curses, and added
" I did not acknowledge the King of Sweden till al
the Princes of Christendom had done so." He the
turned to the Marquis of Buckingham and said, if
consider the wise councillors who are about my son
in-law, I am not surprised that he commits so many
impertinences.

Soon after this, the King's indignation passed; and
he caused the answer of Frederick to the accusa-
tions of the Emperor be laid before him, of which
some appeared to him valid, other parts insufficient.
The Baron is returned to London, where he holds
constant counsels with the Archbishop of Canter-
bury, Edward Wotton, and the Viscount of Dow-
castle. They hope to obtain a declaration to his
satisfaction.

4. Report of March 10, 1620 *.—The Col. Gray
has received permission to levy 2000 men for the
King of Bohemia, and has placarded it every where
in London, even on the door of the Spanish Ambas-
sadors, that it is open to every man to take service
with that King. Beyond doubt Gondomar will raise

* P. 430.

all the louder complaints of this, knowing how much may be obtained by that method from King James. In the end, the latter will sacrifice the Colonel in order to satisfy the Ambassador. On the other hand many hope, that the Palatine will (under mediation of the King) bring to bear a loan from the city of London, because the citizens wish him well, and desire the destruction of the Roman Catholic religion in Germany.

5. April 6, 1620*. The King has been to St. Paul's to hear the Bishop of London preach. As this had not taken place before, during his reign, and he hates great assemblies of all kinds, it is conjectured that something of importance is in hand. The King has also given himself the trouble to chuse a text from the Old Testament: viz., it is time to build up again the walls of Jerusalem, and thus the whole matter ended in the sermon recommending a contribution for repair of St. Paul's church.

Many think the whole had reference to the support of the Palatine, which he dares not, out of fear of the Spanish Ambassador, openly recommend; and which would be at variance with the oath which he had sworn and still swears every day. The remainder of the sermon contained nothing but praise

* P. 442.

of the King, so that jesters declare they mean
converted, because, instead of the truth, a par
manifest lies are delivered from the pulpit.

6. April 16, 1620 *. In the first assemb
Guildhall, nothing was gained for the Palatine
in the second (in which a secret recommend
had been received from the King, and another
the Prince of Wales,) nothing was concluded, fu
than that every one might give according to
pleasure, and the aldermen and other civic aut
ties might make a collection house by house.
clergy proceeds in like manner, and some 200
dollars may ultimately be collected. The proc
ing, however, appears so derogatory that even
little children mock at it.

The Col. Gray is dissatisfied, for he wants mo
and the King does not stand by him as he
promised. Nay, the latter said aloud at table :—
if the Palatine had invited the Turks to inv
Hungary, he was an impious man, whom ra
than uphold he would aid to destroy, and wo
march in person against the Turks. Nay, shoul
die first, they should carry his bones hither, so
did this matter lie to his heart. Many wonde
these speeches, and say, it would have been be

* P. 444.

to convey this in private to the Palatine than to speak it aloud at table.

I believe the whole to be a device of policy in opposition to the zeal of the Puritans, who wish to extort from him a declaration, and if he withhold it, mean to induce the people to insurrection.

The Spanish marriage project proceeds, although in the end one party means to deceive the other. Spain, namely, seeks thereby to delay the succours which might be sent to the King of Bohemia, and James finds in it a good pretext for not declaring himself on the subject of the affairs of Germany.

7. Reports of April 26 and 30, 1620*. The collection of money for the Palatine may amount to 200,000 dollars, and in addition to the 2000 English Gray means to levy 2000 Scotch. The King clandestinely does good services to his son-in-law, has sent Ambassadors to Turkey, Denmark, and Poland, and assures his Protestant friends, the Spanish alliance shall not prevent him from assisting the Palatine. Yet will he ever keep a back door open, and says already that he does not declare himself openly for Frederick, in order to give the Catholic powers no cause for treating the whole as a religious war, the consequence of which would be to throw the

* P. 450. 455.

greater weight into their scale. Although this view be in nowise unfounded, he is guided much rather by his fears of Spain, and his aversion for trouble and exertion. France, as he hopes, will have enough to do with its own affairs; and of Pope Paul V. he says: he is a good man, who thinks of nothing but raising his relations; I wish him long life, that they may not elect one of greater capacity.

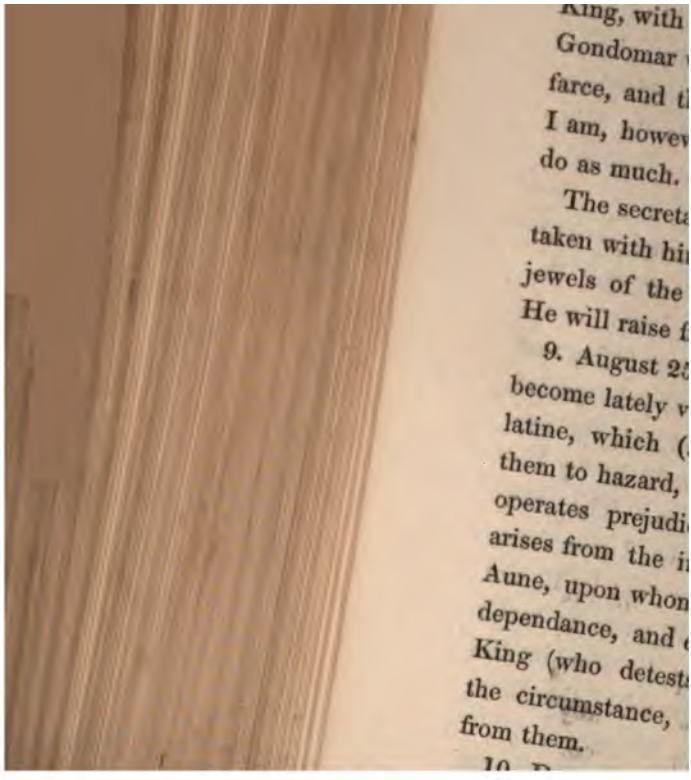
8. June 5, 1620*. Since my last report, the Spanish Ambassador has had an audience of the King. So soon as the latter saw him, he said, before the other could begin to speak, "You have reason to write to your master, that I am a traitor, a wicked man without truth or faith, on account of the affairs of the Catholics, the Baron Nort, and the assistance extended to the Palatine. But I assure you that not I, but the traitors who surround me, have done all this without my knowledge. The first is the work of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that wicked Puritan, the second of the Marquis of Buckingham whom I point out to you as a traitor, against whom you should be on your guard. Being young and unpractised in affairs, he took money for the delivery of a passport to the Baron, but he is greatly concerned therefore, and if you would do me a plea

* P. 466.

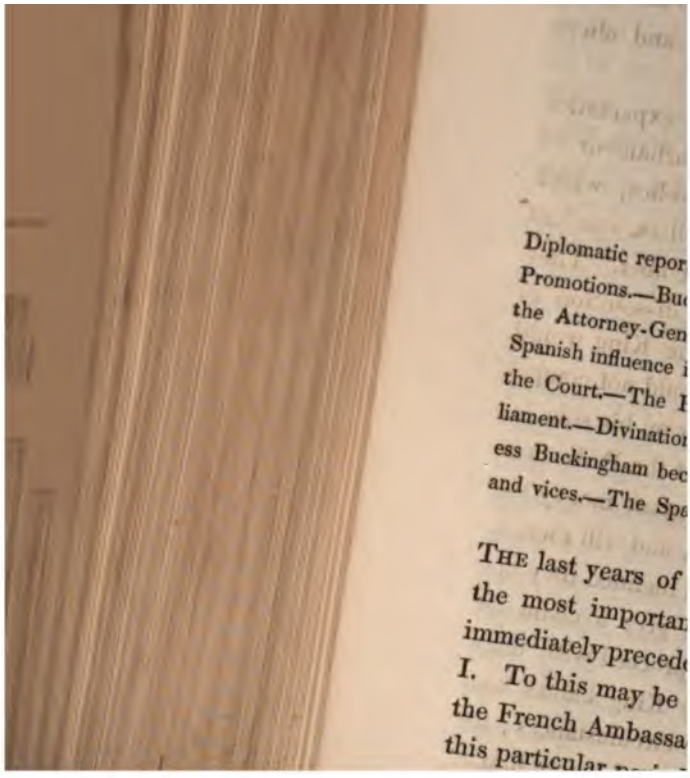
sure you would comfort him on the subject. At this moment he called Buckingham in, and said to him: "George, why have you, without my privity, given a passport for money?" Because, said Buckingham, you give me nothing. Upon these words the King seized him by the head, kissed him twice, and said, now you may go.

Hereupon he continued his conversation with Gondomar, and said, among other matters, the Palatine is a wicked man, an usurper, I will in no manner stand by him, and it is much more fitting that he, a young man, should suffer himself to be guided by an old King like myself, to a just act, the surrender of Bohemia, than that I should be by him involved in a troublesome business. The confederate princes implore my assistance, I give them, however, my royal word of honour that I will not bestow it, and request that you will write as much to the King of Spain. And yet he has, in the terms of the Protestant alliance, promised the direct contrary to the Baron Aune!!

When the King had finished speaking, Gondomar said: he had brought a written paper with him; as it, however, contained nothing but what His Majesty had just expressed with his own lips, he would tear it, (which in effect he did.) As the king had played the part of him, the Ambassador, he ought


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minds, because, in this country, men are in general better regulated, or, by the good administration of justice, are more kept within the sphere of their duties. Yet I doubt that any great action will come of it, inasmuch as the King will, in case of need, surely join the stronger party, or the spirits which have been weakened by a long peace, will take no hearty and dangerous resolution.



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Promotions.—Bu
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them, and even sometimes repeat nearly the same facts, for this very practice of returning to and going over the same ground, is instructive, and elicits traits of character.

1. March 1, 1821. Contrary to the expectation of King James and his council, the Parliament on Thursday evening, granted two subsidies, which might amount to some 7 or 800,000 dollars, one half payable in May, and the other in November. They acted thus out of apprehension of a dissolution of Parliament, and in the hope that the King would give them better satisfaction, and would not compel the people to insurrection. He has on his side, in my opinion, the great advantage that the Parliament for the future will, as in this case, grant money before the negociation of other affairs, and will thereby be kept in check. For however ill inclined they appear, these grants of money which give a claim on their property, compel them to proceed with more gentleness and reverence. The King knows also how to take advantage of these circumstances; for when on Saturday they once more laid before him in a body, their desires, he first thanked them for the subsidies very courteously, and then said: He granted them freedom of speech within legal limits, that is to speak of their affairs with the reverence due to him; and if any one, out of evil intention or ig-

norance, should exceed that limit, he should know how to punish him.

March 11, 1621*. I wrote to you that the King had raised several persons to the rank of earls and viscounts; he has now named some also to be viscounts in Scotland, persons, however, of small rank, and yet smaller merit. For this reason, and seeing that they were to take precedence of English barons, the latter have held meetings at the houses of the Earls Salisbury and Dorset, and have drawn up a petition to the King, purporting that these viscounts had acquired their titles out of the country, and in no respect obtained their present honours by means of any service rendered to the State. He was, therefore, requested not to give precedence to them over the petitioners; and in future, to proceed with more caution in matters which were capable of estranging from him the hearts of his subjects, when they saw the rewards of virtue distributed for money, or by favour.

When the Marquis of Buckingham (at whose suggestion the above viscounts had been named) heard of this, he took aside the Lords Salisbury and Dorset, and said to them: I am much astonished that you should chuse to set yourselves up in opposition to the

* P. 38.

rights of the Crown as well as to myself, with whom, as you know, these nominations have originated. Up to this time I held you for my friends, but see plainly that I have been mistaken, and shall for the future live on a different footing with you. They answered, we cannot admit that we set up ourselves against his Majesty, if, with all possible respect, we lay before him the complaints and grievances of his faithful subjects. Just as little is any attack intended on yourself, whom we love and esteem; if you, however, chuse to place yourself on another footing (qu'il n'y avait rien de si libre). The Marquis complained upon this to the King, and uttered, in the greatest passion, many ill-timed expressions.

In my judgement, Buckingham has conducted himself in this matter like a young man, intoxicated, and so put out of his senses, by court favour, that he forgets all the respect due to his master, mixes himself up in an affair which does not pertain to him, and without any sufficient ground makes enemies of so many considerable men.

The King has brought the thing before his council, and has summoned these Lords, but has received from them the answer: that, during the sitting of Parliament, they were entitled to hold assemblies and consultations of every kind, would expose the matter in the upper house, and only there justify their pro-

ceedings. This answer has set the King, already much excited by Buckingham, beside himself with anger, so as that he wished to send Dorset and Salisbury to the Tower, till it was represented to him that the Parliament might easily take up their cause in a very dangerous manner. He now endeavours to separate them by talking over individuals, and will perhaps succeed. On the other hand, the Parliament evinces by its conduct of affairs more heat and want of judgment than prudence. We must however wait for the result before we can judge with security, for in this country circumstances daily change their appearance; the affairs of Spain alone preserve a steady course, because Count Gondomar uses influence, not only as an ambassador, but even like a servant of the crown, receives information of the most secret things, and often knows how to carry his views into execution.

March 20, 1621. The King is in the greatest fear that the Electress Palatine, his daughter, will arrive here, and favour the party of the Puritans. Buckingham, who is not in her good graces, and knows that the King always joins the stronger party, strengthens him in this view, and uses every device to frustrate the project of this journey. The Ambassader Carleton has therefore been written to; to say to the Queen, if she should arrive at the Hague, that on pain of her father's anger, she should abstain from

coming to this country. Some think that she will turn back upon this; others say she must get out of it in the most honourable manner, and not allow herself to be frightened. Nay, that it were better that she lay in the Tower, than that she should wander round the world in misery, without a safe place of refuge!

4. May 29, 1621. You wish to see the grounds more exactly developed on which the King wishes his daughter not to come here. 1st, He knows the dependence of the people, and especially of the Puritans, on the Electress Palatine, and, excited by the partisans of Spain, is uncommonly jealous thereof, thinking that she may raise a great party. 2dly, The sight of her would be a continual reproach to him for having deserted her, and her demands for aid might involve him with Spain. 3dly, Buckingham is her enemy, if for nothing else, because the Puritans are his enemies. 4thly, The Marquis would fain please the Spanish Ambassador; and 5thly, equally his own wife, whom the arrival of the Electress would thrust into the back ground.

That you may the better understand what is the state of things here, I tell you the following. Some six months back the attorney-general* was imprisoned at the suggestion of Buckingham†, whether be-

* Sir Henry Yelverton. [Tr.]

† P. 70.

cause he had really done him some wrong, (or, a
others assert,) because he had not, to please Bucking
ham, chosen to infringe upon his own honour and duties
The Parliament, immediately on its meeting, de
manded that the prisoner, after fitting enquiry, should
be punished, or set free. The King granted this de-
mand, and the Puritans conceived that they might
use against Buckingham a man well acquainted with
all his projects, and that the latter would seek to re-
venge himself even at the risk of his own destruction.
On his defence he spoke with unusual boldness, and
averred that if he had done any thing unjust or con-
trary to law, he had done it by order of Buckingham,
who often assumed to himself the dignity of a King,
and threatened in the name of James. At the con-
clusion, he compared Buckingham with Spenser, the
favourite of Edward II., who brought his master to
destruction, and himself to an evil end.

Buckingham complaining of this to the King, the
latter caused the attorney to be removed from the
house, whither he had been conveyed for the period
of the trial, and to be shut up again in the Tower.
The Parliament complained of this proceeding, and
demanded that the attorney should be allowed to ex-
plain his expressions. At last the Puritans prevailed
over the adherents of Buckingham and caused the
prisoner to be informed how the matter stood, and

advised him to say to the full house of Parliament, that he wished to learn whether the accusers of the Earl of Somerset, and the discoverers of the chancellor's peculations, were guilty of high treason, for in that case he was guilty of the like crime, insomuch as he had spoken against the Marquis. In the other case, however, he had done a service to the King and the State, and was ready, for their good, to disclose many other matters in addition. The wife of the attorney who had up to this time imparted his resolutions to the Puritans, now gave the Marquis of Buckingham notice of this letter; whether as thinking that this would be to the advantage of her husband, or because she held him for lost, and wished at the least to save herself. Buckingham, however, hastened to the King, and demanded from him the immediate dissolution of the Parliament. To this the King would not consent, but was of opinion they ought to put the attorney in fear. He therefore caused him to be told, that if he would not sign a paper laid before him, in which he recalled every thing he had uttered against himself and Buckingham, the King would dissolve the parliament, but cause him to be hanged.

This took such effect on a man otherwise esteemed courageous, that he signed the paper forthwith, acknowledged it in Parliament, and uttered more base apologies than had even been required of him.—On

account of this cowardice, his friends in ast
ment abandoned him, and he was, on the groun
of corrupt dealing in his office, but of offence a
the king and the ministers, cast in a fine of 1
marks, and condemned to other humiliations.
was also, nevertheless, kept in prison withou
limit being assigned to his detention.

5. June 24, 1621*. The want of regularity
decision in the government, and especially i
King, (either natural or assumed for a pur
throws me into great difficulties. For when
example, I believe myself to have brought hin
those around him, by arguments and good o
to the conclusion that they will not endeavo
effect anything in France in favour of the Hughe
nay, when the King goes so far as to speak s
ingly of them, and to treat them as rebels; I
denly receive information from those who car
observe his words and actions, that he is as if u
altered, is calling on his subjects to stand b
Hughenots, and swearing he would rather lo
his three crowns than suffer Rochelle to be t
These are, I know, nothing but words, which v
not, of themselves, astonish me; but he see
raise money for that end, is already secure of a
sum, and may well interfere in the affairs of F

* P. 83.

sooner than in those of his son-in-law. Not because the latter are less near his heart, but because he fears Spain, but despises France, inasmuch as the latter possesses no fleet and is involved in religious war.

6. June 30, 1621*. If the suggestions made by me be not attended to, no influence will ever be obtained in this country. The Spanish ambassador, although an able and dexterous man, gains his objects here, not so much by his courteous manners, (galanterie,) as because he continues to build on a foundation which has been laid for him fifty years since, and upon intimacies and alliances which Spain, by prudent and wise behaviour, has gained and preserved; not to mention that his reports are believed, and that he has sufficient funds at his disposal, while I can command neither money nor confidence.

7. The Dutch ambassador, Caron, to the States General. July 2, 1621†. There are letters from Spain, and copies of letters to the Emperor and the Archduke, which excite the greatest attention. King James believes in the approaching surrender of the Palatinate, as firmly as though he had it already in his hands; and the consideration of the Spanish ambassador increases daily. When the latter brought

* P. 89.
† P. 103.

these letters to the King, the Marquis of Buckingham brought him back in his litter and gave him the hand. They conversed very confidentially, whispered and pressed each other's hand, while the looking on kept their hats on their heads and him hanged. However this may be, believe me this mountebank obtains the greatest influence which account, we must strive to set him on footing with the King and his subjects.

8. Tillieres.—Report of August 4, 1621*. Hell and earth are combined against us! The People yell, the people is furious, the Spaniards are paring, under the concealment of fair words, bl the greatest consequence, so that I know not King James will resist, although highly reluctant take active part in a fray. In Paris, you see nothing but mere general grounds and considera which in this country have neither shine nor stance. If you tell me the King is a coward, less, and will give no support to the Hugue in France, having given up his own son-in- answer—1st, that the King is timid and coward soon as any ground for fear shews itself, but when he sees that France cannot hurt him, be she possesses no fleet, and is over employ

* P. 116.

home, he troubles himself little about her. — 2dly, His want of power is not so complete as you think, for the merchants are ready to pay for the twenty Algerine ships, a naval expedition to the French coast costs little, and with 150,000 crowns, (a sum which he can command,) he can ship over 10 or 12,000 men to France; inasmuch as his subjects display the greatest zeal to come to the assistance of their fellow religionists, are ready to revive old claims, and have such an opinion of the merits of the country, that they are ready to cross the channel without pay.—3rdly, Many reasons concurred to prevent the King from supporting his son-in-law. He feared, for example, Austria and Spain, and a campaign in the distant Palatinate appeared so perilous and costly, that he could do more for a dollar in France than for twenty in Germany.

9. Tillieres, August 23, 1621*. They have no thoughts here of a war either in France or in Germany, nor of any occupation whatever, other than that of eating, drinking, and making merry. The house of the Duke of Buckingham is a chief resort for these pursuits, but I have too much modesty to describe, in the terms of strict truth, things which one would rather suppress than commit in writing to am-

* P. 125.

bassadorial dispatches, destined for the perusal of exalted persons. They are such as even friends touch upon only with reluctance in confidential letters. I have, nevertheless, sought out for the most decent expressions which I can make use of, to convey to you some of the particulars; but I have not succeeded, whether because I am deficient in adroitness or that it be actually impossible to lay these histories before chaste ears.

It seems, however, that from Paris they pressed for further particulars; and Tillieres therefore returns, in a later dispatch, undated, to the same or a similar subject. He writes:—"In order to confer an honour on the House of the Duke of Buckingham, the King determined with premeditation, to drink to excess at a banquet there. When he was a good way advanced, and full of sweet wine, he took the Prince of Wales by the hand, led him to the Lords and Ladies, and said,—there was a great contention between the Prince and himself as to which of the two best loved the Marchioness of Buckingham. After having recounted all sorts of reasons for and against, he drew some verses from his pocket, which his poet Jonson had made in praise of the Marchioness, then read some others of his own invention, and swore he would stick them on all the doors of his house to show his good-will.

. . . . . * Had I not received this account from trustworthy persons, I should have considered it impossible; but this King is as good for nothing as possible, suffers himself to be walked in leading-strings like a child, is lost in pleasures, and buried for the greater part of his time in wine †.

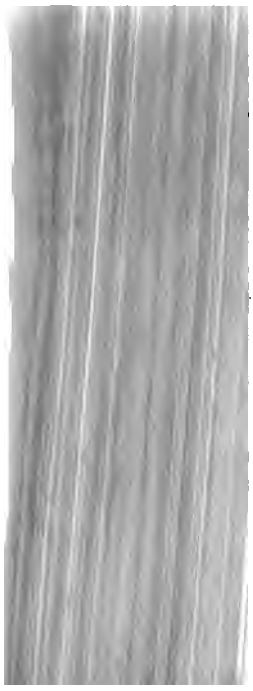
Buckingham ruins England by fomenting new factions and estranging the affections of the people by his misconduct. He becomes daily more audacious in exciting convulsions in the State, whether because he believes himself obliged to go through with what he has begun, or because he is dazzled with his good fortune, or because his mother drives him forward, a woman who meddles in every thing, and is as bold as she is shameless and bad intentioned.

The Prince of Wales's actions are so little disposed to virtue, that he is despised and hated as much as his sister is honoured and beloved.

10. Nov. 25, 1621. It is a misfortune to be obliged to do public business in this country; for all

* The passage omitted in the text, is one which justifies the Ambassador's previous scruples as to dealing with the subject. It adds a lamentable proof to the many before extant of James's disgusting indecencies; and it is difficult to read it without deriving the worst opinion of his habits and those of his favourites. [Tr.]

† October 18, p. 151.



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he betrays for Spain.

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I endeavour to requite them by personal services; but, as a man of honour, I will never requite them at the expense of my master.

The third man in whose hands the public affairs are ostensibly lodged, is the Secretary of State, Calvert. He is an honourable, sensible, well-minded man, courteous towards strangers, full of respect towards ambassadors, zealously intent upon the welfare of England; but by reason of all these good qualities, entirely without consideration or influence.

11. January 6, 1622 *. The vices of the King weaken his intellect, as appears from the letters which he has written to the Parliament, and in which the want of order, connection, and judgement, is apparent. For where he wishes to assume the language of a king, his tone is that of a tyrant, (il taille du tyran,) and where he condescends, he is vulgar. He has no other view than that of depriving the Parliament of its rights, and thinks he has reached his end when he has scolded it; (gourmandé le;) without reflecting that things of this kind are not to be effected by violence, but much rather, or only, by a prudent line of conduct. This design was put into his head already during the lifetime of the treasurer Cecil, who, on account of his mal-administration,

* P. 203.

was afraid of such an overseer as the Parliar
and always set the King against it.

Buckingham has continued in the same co
perhaps on similar grounds, but has not yet rea
his object; for the Parliament has adopted a
resolution which much displeases the King, alth
some think, that this is rather the last exerti
a moribund old age than of a vigorous youth.

However this may be, the Parliament is
journed till February 18, and there is a firm d
mination to dissolve it, although it be not kn
when and how. The affair may, in truth, be dar
ous, unless conducted with prudence, a qu
totally wanting in the conduct of affairs here, i
much as the King and Buckingham insist u
doing every thing, but do nothing. The for
forsooth, inasmuch as he sinks so low in his nu
that sloth now appears to him the highest and onl
joyment; the latter, out of want of understanding,
because he aims not at the honour of his ma
but at the furtherance of his own interests.
has already been the consequence, that he has
vised the King to remain at Newmarket, wher
leads a life to which past nor present times pre
no parallel.

Buckingham follows wildly the plan of dissol
the Parliament, which must bring on his destruct

This, it is true, is delayed by the spirit of cowardice which a long peace has brought upon this country, but we cannot but believe, that in some way or other, this spirit will come to an end, and then be converted into fury. I entertain this view in common with many intelligent men, so that this state, which has so long beheld with joy our misery and that of Christendom, will be in similar condition unless more compassion be shown towards her. I am induced to judge in this fashion, more than by any thing else, by James's plan for the diminution of the power of the Parliament, which is intended for the purpose of maintaining the equilibrium between the prerogatives of the King and the liberties of the people. So long, therefore, as this power of the Parliament maintained itself erect, without bending to the one side or the other, the State continued to flourish; it is, however, to be feared, that if it once sink, all will crumble into ruin together.

His own feeling teaches this to every Englishman, and all complain of the matter; the King alone seems free from anxiety, and has made a journey to Newmarket, as a certain other sovereign once did to Capri. He takes his beloved Buckingham with him, wishes rather to be called his friend than king, and to associate his name to the heroes of friendship



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Palatine to England, and providing the Puritans an honourable pretext for revolt, and a stimulus to their fervour, which has been cooled down by the long peace.

14. March 31, 1622, p. 230. The Lower House is singularly provoked, and determined to attack in the first instance the Chancellor and the Treasurer, who have voted in favour of these monopolies, but next to raise a feud against Buckingham. The latter, taking fright, has represented to the King:—that if he allow his most faithful servants so to be persecuted, he will soon lose them, nor was he to believe that this took place on account of any real malversation, but that the attack was directed in fact against him, the King himself, wherefore, he must dissolve the Parliament so soon as it should have granted two more subsidies. This discourse from a favourite on the one hand, and fear and jealousy of the Parliament on the other, caused the King to play all sorts of parts. Sometimes he swore and denied his Maker, (reniant Dieu,) then he laid his length upon the ground and declared he wished to die, also that he saw well that the Parliament would be his death; then he wept, and finally determined to go down himself to the Upper House. From all this you may see that Buckingham makes the King play all manner of parts, except only that

of a King, and that he seeks to derive for himself as much advantage as the other derives infamy from the circumstances.

15. Report of May 4, 1622, p. 250. My lord Digby enjoys, as Ambassador, so great a salary that he does not expend the half of it. He takes himself, however, out of the way, principally on account of his enemies, at the head of whom is Buckingham, who never will forgive him his attacks upon Spain; and the less so, since he has spoken disadvantageously of the Marquis to the Prince of Wales, saying that he was the ruiner of England. The Prince reported the whole to Buckingham, who still enjoys the position of favourite, a name comprising every thing which can be expressed of evil, and conveying all the bad con-

[redacted]

absence of a sufficient solution) believe that the King has been bewitched. For my part, I am convinced that the secret lies in his infamous licentiousness, (paillardise,) his total want of spirit, and the reckless state of dissolution of his intellect. The former cause has driven him into this passion, and the latter have chained him to it. It is true a report exists that his passion extends itself to Buckingham's wife, and to a little child which he passionately loves, tenderly embraces, and will always have in his sight; but I believe, that these and a thousand other particulars which one cannot venture to speak out, and which no man can believe who has not seen them, proceed simply from his friendship for Buckingham.

All murmur, all suffer: the lords are contemned and little rewarded, the nobility taxed and insulted, and the people impoverished, while the most distant relation of Buckingham (although totally without claim of service) is advanced and gratified. His rapacity is become insatiable, or always was so, and has, in these the times of his favour, like his other vices, first come into full display. Nor is it enough that all classes should be pressed down into such a condition, but it is even forbidden them to complain.

The earl of Oxford, the second lord of this kingdom, has at last been put in the Tower, because he would

[redacted] gave his niece in marriage to Christopher Villiers, and added some words of little signification against Buckingham. A friend of the earl, a gentleman of [redacted], finds himself in a miserable prison, and is threatened with the torture, because he will not depose to what he had never heard.

Every body is indignant at this government, every body murmurs at these proceedings, every body hates and despises this King in an incredible manner; but as the period when he was more in possession of his faculties, he had so divided the great men among themselves, their courage is so sunk, and the country so little favourable to revolts, that nothing but the uttermost climax of the evil can unite the spirits, and as if wake them from a lethargy.

his great endurance to wisdom, that when he comes to the government, his subjects will soon be tired of him, for he will exhibit all the vices of his father, but display none of the qualities which his friends attribute to him; for how were it otherwise possible that a prince of his years should, as yet, have given no proof of any thing good or generous.

17. June 5, 1622, p. 275. I have written to you, in my last letter, that the Countess of Buckingham was become a Catholic. When the King and the Marquis, her son, learnt this, they conceived the highest dissatisfaction, the former as an enemy of our religion, and because it seemed to him a great discredit, that a lady of his court, the mother of his favourite, with whom he himself (and he holds himself for a doctor in theology) had so often and so particularly spoken, should abandon her faith. Buckingham, because he knows, that if any thing upon earth could undermine his favour, or give it a shock, this very accident is of that description.

Both have done their utmost to divert her again from the good path; the Marquis set on foot also a grand colloquy which was attended by his mother, the keeper of the great seal—a good man and one not disinclined to the Catholics—father Fisher, and the preacher Ovit, but which did not produce the desired result. There ensued a second, at which the King as-

sumed the functions of a preacher; and if souls are to be converted by screaming, swearing, and denying God and all the saints, (crier, jurer, et renier Dieu et tous les saints,) the countess has done very wrong not to follow his doctrine.

18. July 19, 1622, p. 301. The elevation to the rank of Earl is here the highest reward for the greatest services, so entirely so, that Elizabeth, in her long reign, never favoured but three persons with that honour. Now it is bestowed on persons of very limited merit, and the government of the whole State appears to have no other end than the elevation of Buckingham, his friends and relations. Whoever is aware of this, and judges England by other nations, will look for commotions as the result of this: that result however will be postponed for reasons both universal and particular.

England is an island, difficult of access to strangers, without fortresses, and without an influential nobility, which in ordinary circumstances usually takes the lead in disturbances. The long peace has produced cowardice; the King in his better days (by help of the subtle and dexterous Cecil) excited divisions among the nobility, and the affairs which continually occupied France and Spain at home or from abroad, permitted no effectual interference in the affairs of England. On the other hand, the King of England

has thought of nothing but the present, never of the future, and it is to be feared that all these saws and maxims will sooner or later vanish in smoke.

Those who have known the Marquis Buckingham, before his elevation, and judge of him with little passion, say, he was, as a young man, good by nature and constitution, and very modest, but that favour has ruined him. The King, instead of guiding and bringing him up with attention, gave him full liberty and unrestrained power, so that it has fallen out in his case as in that of nearly all other favourites. Vanity, presumption, and rapacity now sway him, and for the future he is in danger to tumble with a miserable fall (de tomber par une chute miserable); whether by the death or desertion of the King or whether the excess of his scandalous life may drive the English, cowards as they may be, into insurrection. In this case the King would give him up as scandalously, as he has elevated him without reason.

Buckingham, say others, has always had the same vices, but concealed them till his power enabled him to display them unpunished. Others say, "favourites are intended for the chastisement of Kings and nations, and God always employs the most wicked of them to this terrible end."

19. Oct. 18, 1622, p. 396. The weightiest and

most urgent affairs cannot drive this King to devote to them even a day, nay an hour, or to interrupt his gratifications. These consist, in his betaking himself to a remote spot, where (out of the sight of men) he leads a filthy and scandalous life, and gives himself up to drinking and other vices, the very remembrance of which is sufficient to give horrible displeasure (deplait horriblement). It appears as if the more his strength wastes away, the more these infamous passions increase, and passing from the body over to the mind, assume double power. He has left the Prince and the authorities here to consult upon affairs, but these are bodies without a soul, as every decision depends upon the King, who never takes one, or at the best does so only to live in peace, or to do some

ployers. My lot is fallen, on the contrary, on a kingdom without order, sunken from its glory and age, smitten by repose; on a King devoted to his own nothingness, and whose principle it is, only so far to strive for the good of his subjects, as may give him facilities for plunging himself deeper into vice of every kind. He will not look around, he will not look before, but, nothing troubled as to object and aim, seeks only to gain time.

This perverted principle, or rather this stupid vanity and obstinacy, will, for example, not allow him to confess that he is deceived by the Spaniards. He takes their words for ready coin, lets them pass for deeds, and pays them in the same currency.

Is it not a judgement of God on the King and his people, that he who rules so many millions, suffers himself to be ordered and reprimanded by a man without merit or virtue? Must not such favourites, who sacrifice every thing to their interest, and loosen every tie, bring on civil wars? December 6, 1622, p. 415.

21. January 12, 1623. Buckingham is daily more despised by every one, even by the Spaniards whom he was favoured. He has all the more succeeded in insinuating himself, with a view to the future, into the favour of the Prince of Wales. This new favour is very variously spoken of: many who do not see

far into things, believe that the Prince dissembles; few know that passions for women have to do with it. Howsoever the affair may be, the Prince is loudly blamed therefore, and the more he advances in age, the more he diminishes his reputation.

22. February 14, 1623. The King troubles himself nothing as to what men think of him, or what is to become of the kingdom after his death. I believe that a broken flask of wine, or a similar nothing, is nearer his heart, than the ruin of his son-in-law, and the misery of his posterity. And Buckingham confirms him in every thing, and hopes that the more he abandons himself to all pleasures and to drunkenness, the weaker will be his understanding and spirit, and so much the easier he will be able to rule him by fear when other ties of connection are dissolved.

In the beginning, Buckingham showed moderation enough, for he feared lest the Queen Anne should effect his downfall, as she did that of Somerset. After her death he was still afraid of the Prince of Wales; but since he has become secure of him also, by the means of procuring him gratifications of all kinds, his own disposition displays itself in a reckless manner, and he exhibits debauchery, effrontery, irreligion, and rapacity in the highest degree.

23. March 3, 1623. I am assured that the King is so disgusted with Buckingham and his presump-

tion, and not less so with his son, by reason of the friendship sprung up between them, that he would rather endanger his State * than put up with this any longer.

Gondomar, before his departure, gave some assurances to the Prince of Wales respecting his marriage, in the event of his journeying to Spain. Don Balthazar de Zuniga, however, appears not to have sanctioned the plan. Since then the matter has been one while pushed forward, at another let drop, till a few days since, a pretended merchant delivered letters to the Prince in which a rupture of the marriage negociations was indicated, if Charles did not make a journey to Spain. The latter is now disposed rather to encounter dangers than incur an unsuccessful termination of the affair, and so much more, as his father for some time back has treated him with open and insupportable contempt. In order to avoid enduring this lesser evil, the Prince, like a man without judgement, hurls himself head foremost into the greatest of follies, and Buckingham, whom the King only tolerates through fear and habit, wishes by a dangerous and extravagant conduct, so to attach himself to the Prince, that the latter must in every case either support him or share his ruin.

* By marrying Charles to a Spanish Princess.

24. March 5, 1623, p. 460. The King will
no man about him of condition, intellect, or ju
ment; but little people who defer to him in
thing, who praise his vices as others praise vir
and who calumniate all men of honour and vi
He hates such mortally, thinking that they de
and despise him; he would fain avoid the sig
them, because he thinks their countenances repr
him for his abominable and scandalous life.

LETTER LXVI.

Vallaresso upon James I.—Charles I.—His journey to Spain.—Failure of the marriage scheme.—James's timidity.—Insolence of the Spaniards.

THE despatches of the Venetian envoy, Vallaresso, afford some illustration and confirmation of what has been above related.

August 15, 1622. King James speaks with two tongues, and never acts consistently with what he says. Dangerous party divisions are already the result. He would fain restrain the preachers in their discourses upon religious matters. That, however, would be to endeavour to check a mountain torrent, which is only made more furious by the obstacle.

February 24, and March 1, 1623. The king is mutable, artificial, close, attached to peace, timorous; the proper artificer of every mischance. Good principles and feelings are extinguished in him. He loves nothing but himself, his own convenience and

[illegible] he distrusts every one, suffers from ex-
treme weakness of mind, and is tyrannized over by a
constant fear of death.

September 26, 1622. Of the Prince Charles as
yet scarcely any thing is to be said, except that he
is, like his father, passionately addicted to the chase.
Whether his obedience be the result of wise prin-
ciple or natural disposition, it is hard to say; but the
coldness which he displays in all his dealings, lead
us to no very favourable conclusions in the case of
young man, unless on his accession to the sovereignt
he display a different disposition.

March 8, 10, 11, 1623. The Prince and Bucking
ham are suddenly set off in disguise for Spain. Th
resolution is a gulf of wonder, a labyrinth witho
entrance or exit, approved by no man, without ex

of the journey. 1st. The Prince wished to see the Infanta.—2nd. He had fallen beyond measure in love with her picture.—3rd. The King wished to ruin Buckingham and inculpate his son.—4th. They hoped to bring the affair, by this means, to a favourable conclusion.—5th. Heaven blinds those whom it wishes to chastise.—6th. The journey took place through predestination.

May 4, 7, 21; 28th July, 1623. As the Prince entered Madrid it rained. I (Vallaresso) said to King James: this betokens the fruitfulness of the approaching marriage.—The Prince for the rest receives few visits; they neglect and shun him, and he is in want of amusement. He sees the Infanta but seldom and furtively (furtivamenté). One morning as she went into the garden to walk, the Prince, attended by Buckingham, jumped over a wall and approached to see her; an action, more that of a lover than of a Prince, and ill taken by the guardians of the Infanta.

The King of Spain has sent King James an elephant; it is not known whether as earnest (caparra) or instead of the Infanta. It is certain that James said; he had merely yielded to the wish of his son, and complained to his council, with tears, what injustice he experienced from Spain. The journey cost 500,000 livres, and the Prince returned to London on the 16th October, having failed in its object. Oct. 20; Dec. 1, 22, 29, 1623.

The Count Olivarez made the Prince a present of hams, raisins, figs, capers, and other like fruits; the latter distributed away the whole, without keeping for his own use the smallest article. The whole city was aware of the unsuitableness of such a present, and ballads were made upon it. It is evident that the Prince was treated with contumely. All the presents and letters which were sent from hence for the Infanta, are come back, the latter untouched as they were forwarded, an insult which the Prince has felt as acutely as his cold and reserved nature permits him. Letter of Tillieres of May 14, 1624.

The King is beset by double fear of his son and of Spain. Fear is, and ever was, his ruling passion! He quakes, prays, cries, but at last, however, is again appeased.

suspects, complains, whines, but has perhaps himself a hand in this game of intrigues and accusations, in order to make others feel the fears to which he is subject.

Affairs in general are come to a pass such that great changes must, before long, take place.

Notwithstanding that Vallaresso had, generally, a correct view of these matters, he yet considered flattery as part of the duty of his office, and he said to the Prince, after his return from Madrid, "that the veni, vidi, vici, of Cæsar was applicable to him: he had carried off the victory over deceit, and victory in arms would next follow."

evil; but are swayed to one side or the other in everlasting change and uncertainty. This proceeds from grounds so many and different, that they are not to be unfolded in a single letter.

The Prince Charles is disgusted with the Spanish match; not so the King. The latter retains no spark of affection for Buckingham, who, however, building on the Prince, proceeds daringly.

The Puritans wish to break off the marriage with Spain, and to persecute the Catholics in England *.— The King accuses their heat and ignorance; and it is a fact that they are blinded by passion, and think only of satisfying it, without regard to the situation of affairs abroad and at home. They think the Spanish power easy to overthrow, and in their projects, take into account all chances of success, but none of failure. Men of experience and moderation disapprove these dangerous and violent plans, but generally in silence. Others are stupefied with pleasures, and think of nothing but vanities. Even the women speak of war, and many Puritan women trouble themselves not at all about the lives of their husbands and connections, if they can only satisfy their hate against Spain.

2. March 24 and 26, 1624. The heat which the

* March 12 and 16, 1629.

Prince and Buckingham introduce into public
ness, and the too rapid motion which they w
impart to the Parliament, has injured them
has frightened many members of the Parliamen
excited in the King the suspicion that they w
take him also under guardianship. As he, how
is both cunning and timid, he will not attack
both at once, but endeavour to separate them
then forthwith destroy the favourite.

It is uncertain whether the party of the Ki
that of the Prince will prevail; but whatever hap
the former is an obstacle to all good, and if he
with the Spaniards, will do them more service
fears, than Spinola by his valour. He also
the dangers arising from them more than those
may come from his people, whom he hates at
and despises. On the other hand, it may be
that the first danger is distant, the other near
that it is a grave matter to dissolve, without
quate reason, a Parliament supported by his
who is in the vigour of life, and infinitely be
by all.

3. May 3, 1624. The Prince gains daily re
tion, glory, and goodwill from the Parliament
also from the people. I know not whether this
ceeds from sound reasons, or because he gives
much to their interests and their passions. O

other hand, the King is daily more detested and despised: he is without power or consideration, which occasions many of his servants to forsake him. He sees this, is vexed at it, and would willingly extricate himself from his position; on the other hand, he prefers enduring any thing, to the hazarding a bold measure, for which he is himself incapable, and to which the aid of others is not forthcoming. The High Treasurer, Middlesex, (whom he loves the best, and who understands best how to suit himself to his humour,) one of the boldest and most enterprising men in England, is at this moment all but ruined, and another will hardly offer himself, in order to preserve to the King a consideration which he does not deserve. Yet all business is still laid before him, and as he knows that this is only done for shew, he endeavours to revenge himself by impeding what is good and advancing what is evil.

The Parliament, which is aware of these disorders, and how the Prince endeavours to oppose his father, and to bring about a war with Spain, supports his schemes, and demands at the same time much from him, which he would disapprove, if he were King, as for example, the persecution of the unoffending Catholics. If, however, they could satisfy their passions, they would trouble themselves little about the rest.

4. The French ambassador in London, Effiat, t
King of France, July 31, 1624. Buckingham
recovered his power over the King; the latter
him do what he will, and sees but through his
The Prince honours him not as a favourite, but
man upon whom his entire fortune depends.
ministers, once almost his servants or raised b
means, are subject to him, and if any one fails t
cognize this relative position, he is overthrown
in the treasurer's case.

Buckingham had caused this man (Cranfield
be made Earl of Middlesex, had given him
cousin in marriage, in order to bind him faste
himself, and had sought to confirm him in all
in the King's favour. During the Duke's abse
however, in Spain, and the subsequent embar
ments, Middlesex sought to work against him, a
supplant him in his place. The Prince, on the o
hand, took Buckingham's part, the Parliament,
voted to him, brought the treasurer to trial, an
was, after deprivation of his office and condemna
to a fine of 500,000 livres, confined as prisone
his house.

5. August 21, 1624. They advance, it is tru
the negociations for the marriage of the Princ
Wales with a French Princess, but the notion of
taining on the occasion liberty of conscience for

Catholics is utterly impracticable; and on the other hand, it is of no less importance that Olivarez boasts aloud, that the Pope will not have the courage to furnish a dispensation to the Princess, inasmuch as in that case the Prince of Spain will march in person to Rome, and lay it under contribution.

The marriage conditions were at last concluded, and Louis XIII. promised to look to their observance. It was important and fertile in consequences that Henrietta of France gave her word (April 5, 1625) that she would allow none but Catholics in her attendance, and that her children should be brought up in that faith.

6. Father Berulle to the minister Villeauxclercs. Rome, October 2, 1624. The Court of Rome, its conduct, its principles are very different from the previous notion and judgement which one forms of them without experience. I own that on the spot I have learnt more in a few hours, than from all former speeches and accounts. The condition of France, Spain, and Italy is the dial to which they ever look. The reputation of their government, the application and exaltation of its power, are the leading points in its councils, and of greater weight than many theological grounds. As at sea we are obliged to sail with the wind, thus is it in this court also, if we wish to reach our destination. The Pope demands that

Catholics, the
way opened to
of his power in

LETTER LXVIII.

Accession of Charles I.—Buckingham and the Parliament.—The Catholics and the Puritans.—Official Instruction for Mons. de Blainville.—The Queen.—Mons. de Soubise.—The Huguenots.—Court of the Queen.—Alliances.—Richelieu.

THE old and sinful king died at last, and every one hoped that better times would commence. The French ambassador, Effiat, having spoken of that decease, without once hinting that it had been otherwise than natural, proceeds.

1. April, 1625. Negociations sur le mariage d'Angleterre. Vol. 49. The sadness of the new king is so great, that when added to the modesty of his former demeanour, it bears a testimony to the goodness of his disposition. He has tended the king in his last sickness as though he had been one of his servants, and at Buckingham's intercession,

(whose creatures those servants are,) has confirmed them in their situations.

The Duke's consideration has not only maintained itself, but has increased. The King, his master, gives him proofs of great good will. His views expressed in council upon the situation of the kingdom, and the French marriage, met with great approbation, and some motions not worthy of mention, were set aside immediately by his influence, and the King was petitioned to bring the project of marriage to an early conclusion.

2. Duplessis, Bishop of Mende, Almoner to the Queen of England, to the King of France. August, 1625 *. The Parliament is determined to ruin Buckingham at any price. It is only uncertain whether an assembly composed of people of such

such at home. I think the latter result will occur, for Buckingham has repeatedly said to me, the King would place the defence of him, the Duke, before his own interests.

It were much to be wished that the Queen treated her husband and the great men of this country with greater courtesy; there not being a person of what quality soever, to whom she has uttered a compliment. We are totally unable to obtain this from her. Perhaps letters from the Queen-mother will effect more; they must not, however, like the last, be couched in praise of what she does, but rather expose to her the impropriety of her conduct. These delicacies might be good elsewhere, but not in this case, in which the Queen interprets literally the expressions of her mother, and imagines that she has her approbation for every thing she does.

The Bishop of Mende to Cardinal Richelieu. March 26 and 29, 1625. The King of England is constantly:—if the Parliament were to grant no money, he had other resources. They are, however, secret, that no man can discover them.

Buckingham caused the demands of the Parliament against the Catholics to be complied with, was not the less an object of accusation. Deceived in his hopes, he brought about in council,

the next day, the dissolution of the Parli
without regard to the posture of public affairs.
Duke having spoiled his chances with Spai
England, the Protestants and the Puritans wi
to France for succour, and will be compelled t
the Catholics well. A new impost is thought
however, it be of small amount, it will not
the expenses; if large, the country will mal
ficulties in the payment.

4. Count Tillieres to the King of France. A
28 and 31, 1625. The King of England s
me:—"You know how much I am in need
Parliament, and how greatly it detests the Cat
On this account they have petitioned me to e
the old laws against them and pass new on
refused the latter, but on account of my emb
ments, was obliged to grant the former. I
mean time, the power of execution is in my
and I shall make but a moderate use of it."

Buckingham pretends severity against th
tholics, in order to gain the Protestants an
Parliament. He frequently knows not wh
would have, and what pleases him one hour
the contrary the next. The extravagance of h
mour, and the mental constitution of this weak
exceed all imagination.

France is much discontented that the ma

conditions, secret and open, in favour of the Catholics, are not observed.

5. Instruction to the French ambassador, Monsieur de Blainville, Sept. 3, 1625. In the English court there are three things well to be observed.

1. The working of the alliance with France, and the affairs of the government in general.

2. The satisfaction of the Queen.

3. The welfare of the Catholics.

These three matters must be treated at the same time and in common, and none of them, without pressing necessity, be postponed in favour of the other. If, however, it be matter of necessity to make a choice, the welfare of the state is to be preferred to every thing; yet this must be conducted with such dexterity, that the English may not believe that his majesty would give up the two latter points, provided the first were safe. It is also possible that what is now treated as a subordinate matter, may in time become a capital one.

You must endeavour to win, and to moderate the Duke of Buckingham. The Puritans hate the Catholic religion, and would fain, even at the risk of their own destruction, extirpate the Catholics. Against such people one may speak with freedom; for they fly in the face of the King's will, and the established religion; reject all church government,

and would fain, having first subverted the latter
dermine also the dignity of the King. Inasm
however, as several great men are devoted to
party, you must only speak to the King on this
out witnesses, and must excite Buckingham ag
his enemies.

In the English court (as in others) there are va
parties. Prudence prescribes to a foreign amb
dor to favour none exclusively, in order to pre
influence over all. If he be obliged, howeve
decide for one, he will act wisely to choose that
which he can promise himself the greatest p
Even in this case, however, he should avoid t
cite suspicion in the others, or so to break with
that a reconciliation may be utterly impos
Take good observance of this, judge not light
the views of men, trust not every report, as
originate in hate and envy.

Enquire into the character of the most influe
men. The Keeper of the Great Seal is a ma
mild disposition *; the Chancellor of the Treas
is held for a friend of the Catholics, the Lord
broke is one of the most considerable men in
country, and is, as it would seem, head of the

* Sir T. Coventry. [Tr.]

† Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough. [Tr.]

ritans; he should not be neglected. With the Spanish Ambassador you should live on a good footing to all appearance; but in fact, do him as much disservice as possible. On the other hand, endeavour generally to work in favour of the Hollanders, only not for the conclusion of an armistice with Spain. The friendship with Scotland is to be preserved. In all transactions you should observe much respect, but at the same time, shew courage where necessary.

In a supplement to this instruction, of September 17, 1625, we find the following:—You should make complaint that the Catholics are not treated according to the promises of the King, and the conditions of the marriage, that all the laws against them are put in force and others made, and the latter, through the influence alone of individuals, without any compulsion from the Parliament. The King promised that the Catholics should be enabled to profess their religion, and should not be disturbed in regard to their persons or properties; they have in no respect deserved new persecution by any misdeeds; but Buckingham has sacrificed them, for the purpose of himself escaping enquiry into all kinds of malversation. You must express distinctly the dissatisfaction of the King of France hereupon, but so

about a prospect of a reconciliation with Buckingham may remain.

The Baron de Manic to Villeauxclercs. September 8, 1625. Buckingham has spoken of France with little respect, and treated the Catholics with [illegible]. And I consider him not mad enough to venture himself in France, although his passion [illegible] Quoique sa passion [illegible].

The King of France to Mons. de Blainville. August 31, 1625. If Buckingham were come to Blois, he would have prepared for himself an evil reception. Buckingham, however, as his presumption is great, and he is prepared, perhaps, to carry through that project at any price, and wishes to gain [illegible], do not take from him every

8. Mons. de Blainville to the King of France. October 22, 1625. I have had an audience of King Charles. In respect to the affair of the Catholics, he said:—I am astonished that the King of France should wish to mix himself up in the affairs of my kingdom, and to know what I have to order my subjects. If he loves me, (as it becomes him to do,) he will find good every thing that I direct, nor is it any just subject of complaint if I bring to application old statutes, following the wish of my parliament and my subjects.

After I, the ambassador, had endeavoured to controvert this, the King continued:—"In the treaty there is a condition favourable to me; for it is said, 'that I am bound to leave the Catholics in quiet, it being premised that they conduct themselves discreetly, and remain within the limits of their duty.' It now, however, stands with me to interpret their mode of life, and if I disapprove it, I am empowered to proceed with severity against the transgressors, without affording any occasion to the King of France to trouble himself thereupon." He also, at that time, caused me to be assured, through the mouth of one of his ministers, that he laid stress only on the secret point in order to obtain the dispensation from Rome.

I remarked hereupon:—how firmly the I
ministers denied the having said or promise
thing in reference to this article, that it was,
ever, like all the others written down an
tified.

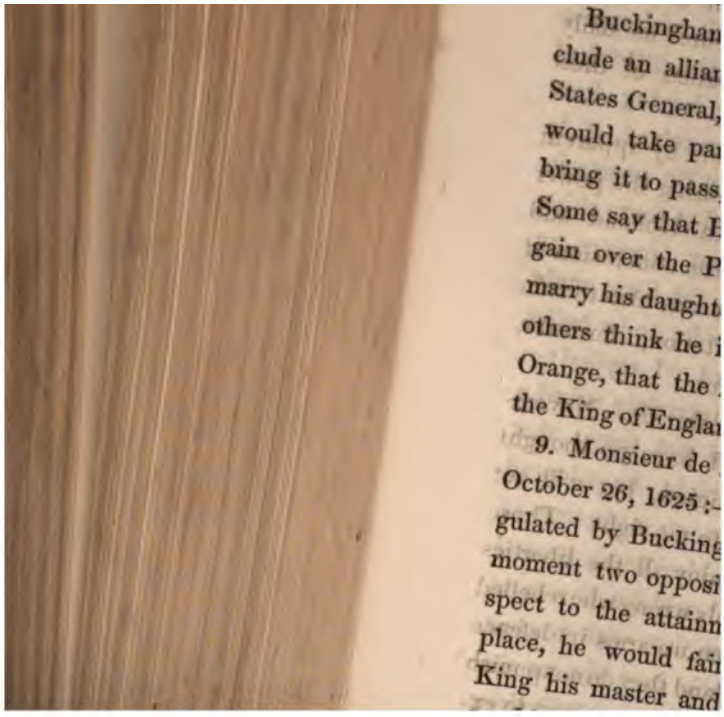
The King then proceeded to what concern
Majesty, and said:—"I understand that the
of France troubles himself about domestic
and that which passes between man and wife
has a bad opinion of me, as though I
to withhold necessary provision from my
while I am determined to do in this respect
thing to which I am in duty bound, but
out of love for my wife, and not on other
siderations."

I answered this as courteously as I could
observed, that your Majesty took an interest
matter only for the sake of King Charles's o
putation, which might well suffer somewhat,
known that things in themselves insignifican
conducive to the satisfaction of a young pri
were not in such a length of time brought to a
plishment.

I hereupon touched upon the controversy be
the Queen and Buckingham, who wishes to
female relations of his own about her and to

away others, and I made complaint of the reception of Soubise in England*. Charles replied:—I could never have believed that the King of France had such an ill opinion of me as to think that I could forsake in his need one of my own faith, and one so much beloved by my people. I thought, instead of reproaches, to have merited thanks, as having done very little for Soubise, and having received, it is true, his ships in my harbours, but not his person in my court. It is true, I would not that those ships should again set sail to excite new troubles in France; on the other hand, however, the King ought to give peace to his subjects, in order to be better able to make war on his enemies, &c. I replied:—according to strict right he might certainly afford a refuge to Soubise, yet he should not forget that similar unacceptable measures might be adopted with regard to himself in France, on occasions of greater importance. There was also much ground for comment on his conduct, should he choose to deal with your Majesty otherwise than with a great King and his brother. Inasmuch, however, as the person of Soubise was held by him in such affection, I would speak no further on that subject.

* Soubise had rebelled, and had been forced to fly from France.



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October 26, 1625 ;-
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King his master and

afterwards according to his pleasure for good or evil. Without regard to my representations he has disarmed the Catholics, and taxed them twice as high as the Protestants; he treats them not as subjects but as strangers, and nevertheless assures me daily, that he wishes to impede the execution of those statutes.

The second notion of Buckingham is by apparent indifference towards France, by vaunting the power of England, and the alliance with Holland and Sweden, to bring your Majesty to the conclusion of an offensive alliance, and by this means also to ruin the Puritans.—During this hesitation, however, time and money are fruitlessly spent.

10. The King of France to Blainville. November 8 and December 6, 1625:—I have no thought of suppressing the reformed religion, but will act against the seditious as appears to me right. Those Hughenots who live quietly, enjoy all the liberties assured to them; those were doubly wrong who rebelled at the moment when I had taken up arms in defence of their co-religionists. In England they do not punish the crimes of the Catholics, but are determined to extirpate their faith. All without exception are there persecuted, while I offer pardon to all who return to their duty.

11. Monsieur de Blainville to the King of France.

[redacted] and January 4, 1626. King [redacted] the preparations against Rochelle, [redacted] above all things beware [redacted] of from their subjects the hope of an [redacted] instruction.—He declared further, he [redacted] his pleasure to the court of [redacted] observed that according to the marriage [redacted] the [redacted] pledged by the Queen [redacted] these persons must be [redacted] the King replied:—My wife [redacted] such [redacted] times rightly pledge herself, [redacted] it [redacted] her power to fulfil that con- [redacted] will by [redacted] or other carry [redacted]

[redacted] to the point last mentioned, as well [redacted]

LETTER LXIX.

Reports of Monsieur De Seneterre.—The King and the Queen of England.—The Scotch.—Strafford.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Loans.—Laud.—Commotions in London.—Disturbances in the Provinces.—Financial Measures.—Strafford.

THE reports of the French ambassadors from London for the reign of Charles I., extant in the different collections of MSS. in the Paris Library, are unfortunately not complete. Nine years are therefore here passed over, fortunately not the most important for the history of the English rebellion. The following fragments from the dispatches of Monsieur De Seneterre prepare us for the time when open hostilities commenced *.

April 4 and 12, May 24, 1635. The death of the High Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, ought to raise the influence of Laud, and very likely also of

* Seneterre Ambassades en Angleterre. Vol. I. fol. MSS. de St. Germain. Vol. 773.

the Queen, who had frequent controversies
him. Yet it is not likely that any one person
be appointed to undertake the conduct of af
for the Archbishop, in spite of his high consider
has only lately come into activity, and proceeds
great caution; and in the same manner, the Q
also is only beginning for the first time to mix
self less in public affairs. Although her hus
is singularly attached to her, she is yet comp
in observance of his humour, to take many pr
tions, and to proceed with much gentleness.

France endeavours to involve England in
tilities with Spain.—Charles I., on the con
wishes to live on good terms with both powe
maintain his reputation, and to enable the El
to recover the Palatinate without taking up arm
the purpose. June 13, 1635.

October 30, 1635. The will of the Que
perfect, but her power not equally great: fo
has to do with a man, who tells her every
indeed, but exacts that she should be of his opi
which he takes care previously to impart to
Would she contradict him, she must seek ou
manner of devices and turns, of which he ma
be sensible, but to which she has not hitherto
descended to resort. The King has no inclin

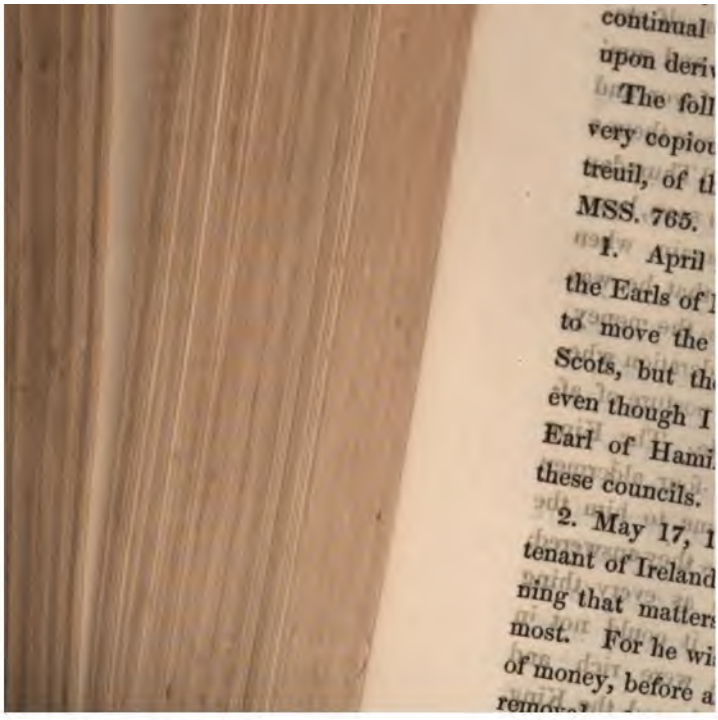
towards us, and is more jealous of the greatness of France than of Spain.

His ministers think only of internal affairs and their own. They flatter their master on the subject of the taxes, which they impose for the maintenance of the fleet. They are besides disunited among themselves, and one fears the growing power of the other. The Queen told me, she would do her best, but had rather it were known that she wanted power than the affection of her husband and people.

Seneterre writes later. July 22, 1637. The Archbishop of Canterbury chastises the Puritans, and has caused a Doctor, as also two Puritans *, to lose their ears, for the having written and preached after their fashion. The people has wiped up their blood like that of martyrs, and has strown flowers on their way. The Bishop of Lincoln, (Williams,) a learned and rich man, who is considered as head of the Puritans, has come under heavy fines, is deprived of his office, and has been shut up in the Tower.

In a letter from a certain Pujol to the Duke of Olivarez, of May 28, 1637, we find:—The King of England is available neither for good nor ill. He

* Bastwicke, Prynne, and Burton. [Tr,]



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MSS. 765.
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Scots, but th
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2. May 17, 1
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ning that matters
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of money, before a

either entertained the view of thus gaining consideration with the King, or of moving him to an alliance with the Spaniards, in whose confidence he is.

3. May 24, 1640. The King had scarcely dissolved the Parliament, when he found himself embarrassed for the payment of his troops, and summoned on this account, on May 18, the Mayor and Aldermen to his presence. He demanded from them a loan of two millions, and gave them time till Thursday to deliberate on the ways and means. As soon, however, as Sunday, he summoned them again, when the Mayor dexterously made answer, that he was exerting himself in every way to raise the money, but submitted to His Majesty's consideration whether it were advisable in the present posture of affairs to use violence against the people. The King hereupon sent for four of the twenty-four aldermen of London, and ordered them to name to him the richest people. Instead of doing this they answered, that it was impossible, inasmuch as every thing was fluctuating and changing, and it could not in fact be known what merchants were rich and what poor. This answer so displeased the King, that he caused them to be shut up in separate prisons.

The three Scottish deputies, who were put in the Tower with Lord Loudun, and then set free, have

[redacted] to the arrest of the [redacted] being able to discover [redacted]

[redacted] caused two members of [redacted] and the Provost [redacted] to be thrown into prison, the one [redacted] of speech in Parliament, [redacted] to pay the ship [redacted]

[redacted] many placards [redacted] especially on the old Exchange, [redacted] One of these [redacted] would one day be masters, [redacted] Liberties, come on [redacted] in order to [redacted] the Archbishop of Canterbury."

mob withdrew, as soon as they learnt that Laud was no longer in the palace. They have, it is true, arrested five or six of the parties, but of the lowest rabble, whose evidence can hardly bring to light the essence of the plot. I am assured that they will all be hanged, a measure which has been applied with success in similar cases.

On Tuesday, May 22, a similar placard was found on the Exchange, in which they promise to return in greater numbers; yet it is already late, and I hear nothing of it. Various ballads in rhyme, have been also scattered abroad, in which it runs, for example: Let Charles and Maria do what they will, we will yet *destroy* the Archbishop of Canterbury. This is the expression, (detruirons,) like the Doctor *Lemme* (Lamb). This Doctor was stoned some eight years since.

They begin to accuse Strafford, as having driven things to these extremities, without the means to restrain the people. They hardly trust the London militia, and have ordered up other troops from the neighbourhood, with all speed.

It is nevertheless not probable that things will come to extremities, as the English Catholics believe, and perhaps wish, the Puritans to throw the blame on the Spaniards, and the ministers of the Queen-mother. The former have specially promoted

of the Commons, and are thinking, seriously or to appearance, of bringing about a reconciliation with the Scotch. It is not certainly known whether these councils emanate from Strafford, who, perhaps, after having used untimely violence, wishes now to adopt a system of moderation, which undermines the reputation of his master. He first betook himself to force without the means of force, and after the failure of his attempt, wishes to bring the King to accede to every demand of the people.

It is, however, probable that the new policy does not originate with Strafford. His nature is averse to all moderation, he would be ashamed to strike now into a directly contrary course, and a severe sickness has prevented him for ten days past from attending the council. The Earls Holland, Pembroke, and others have complained to the King of the ill behaviour of Strafford, for which reason some think he will recover his health sooner than his authority; others, however, assure that he will soon obtain as much influence as ever. He is still devoted to the Spanish party.

5. June 7, 1640. P. 91. The seditions which threw this court into consternation begin to be appeased, and one of the ringleaders was hanged and quartered last Saturday. He had been wounded at [illegible]k on the Archbishop's house, and in the

endeavour to obtain surgical treatment, was discovered by the surgeon.

Last Friday and Saturday fresh placards were displayed in public places, exhorting all to fast and set themselves in order in these days, inasmuch as much blood would flow on Sunday. Yet no further mischief has resulted, than that the militia was drawn out in arms, chains drawn across the streets, and the guard strengthened at the residence of the Queen-mother. The Mayor of London has bound over all masters to answer for their journeymen and apprentices, under whose names the mutineers had assembled, so that all fear is nearly at an end, and the only trouble that remains is that of raising money. This, however, will be a serious one, as they do not dare to use compulsion, nor will the city lend the King more than £50,000, if it even should do so much.

June 14, 1640. The Marquess Hamilton, Laud, and Strafford were yesterday together the whole afternoon, and this afternoon the Governor of the Tower has conveyed Lord Loudun to Whitehall; nay, they will perhaps send him to Scotland to bring about a composition, as the English shew so little inclination to the war. Disturbances occur also almost daily in the provinces (generally on account of the soldiers); the men of Essex, Kent, and other

places refuse the sea service; the militia of Oxford will serve neither by land or water; the soldiers in Somersetshire have ill-treated their Colonel, Lanesford; those raised in Dorsetshire have thought fit to kill and hang up by the legs their Lieutenant, Moore, who treated them with some severity; in Suffolk certain soldiers have worn their shirts over their other clothes, and thus represented and ridiculed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the higher ecclesiastical court of law.

7. July 26, 1640. P. 98. The artisans are daily dragged from their shops and forced on board of the fleet destined for Scotland, warlike stores are daily embarked, soldiers sent to the frontiers, and the generals preparing for departure. On the other hand, it is believed, that Lord Loudun is treating in Edinburgh for a reconciliation, and that Lord Traquair will soon follow him. In fact, such is the want of money and means of war, that the king will be obliged in any case to conclude a peace, and only makes it a point of honour to do so, while he is yet in arms for war.

Of the money which he has caused to be coined in the Tower, two-thirds have been necessarily issued, and only £40,000 remains. Among all the failures of Strafford this is the most blamed, because he excited the people for the sake of a small advantage of

the moment, and occasioned to the king the loss of greater revenues connected with this expenditure. The present lenity appears almost more impolitic, as it so much reduces the original gain, but leaves ground for complaint and for apprehension of further violence.

It is proposed to mix two-thirds of copper with that £40,000, and thus to coin out of it £160,000; but, not to reckon that the nation disapproves the present measures, the citizens now proclaim aloud, that they will never take the adulterated coin at the affixed value.

This project is nevertheless pushed forward by Strafford without regard to strenuous opposition, especially on the part of Monsieur *Rhoo*, which, as is frequently the case, threw Strafford into great wrath. As an instance, he called the mayor of London, a week since, a traitor, and summoned him before the Star-chamber for not levying the ship-money.

8. August 2, 1640. They no longer talk of sending Lord Traqhuair to the Scots. Nay, they will not even vouchsafe them an answer. This, perhaps, urges the generals to set out; but what will they be able to undertake, without money and with soldiers who are obstinate in the resolution not to fight?—an epidemic which has already seized the Irish army.

Four thousand men have been raised, as is said, in the neighbourhood of London, and (pas tout a fait reduits au baton) not utterly reduced to sticks, like those of Selby, yet they did not venture to give them powder or swords.

Eight hundred raised in Bedfordshire are utterly dispersed, and the Earl of Holland who was commissioned to talk them over into resuming their arms, received counter orders, so that they retain their liberty.

The King has in vain expected that the city of London would pay him a good sum to prevent him from carrying through that scheme of adulterating the coin, but now finds himself compelled to demand that which, in his opinion, they should have freely offered. He therefore summoned, yesterday was a week, the mayor of London and some aldermen to Whitehall, and told them in the presence of his counsel, "he was dissatisfied with their late conduct, and they would do well to give him cause to forget it, by bringing that to pass which he would now demand, and would afterwards more fully expound. On the following day he sent, through Cottington, a letter to the city council, (in which sit the mayor, the sheriffs, the aldermen, and two deputies for each parish,) and demanded a loan of two millions sterling, on the security of the customs

for principal and interest, and under a promise in such case, that the coinage should not be tampered with. "Should this be refused, he would be compelled to resort to extreme measures, and to undertake things, which he should be loath to do and they to suffer."

The mayor having read this letter, called upon those present to satisfy the wish of the King; they nevertheless, after putting it to the vote, returned for answer; "they could not do what the King desired."

9. August 9, 1640. P. 105. It is thought here that it will be difficult to bring the Scots to an accord, as they see that the aversion of the English to this war daily increases. Especially do the soldiers abandon their officers, or insult them in such a manner that the latter are forced to make off. James Ashley, the general of the infantry, writes therefore—that he can no longer controul them, and the troops which are maintained by the King will only serve to strengthen the Scotch. His regiment, and that of the Earl Newport, have all but disbanded themselves; nay, it is related, that he has been obliged to disarm the soldiers who yet remain, and that they have been doing their exercise with sticks. A Catholic lieutenant, Ivers, has been killed by his men, for refusing to accompany them to a preaching.

The militia of Suffolk, Dorsetshire, and those neighbourhoods, persist in refusing to embark.

10. August 23, 1640. P. 109. Cottington has demanded of the foreign merchants, resident in London, a loan of 200,000 livres, upon the security of the Customs' revenue, but, as in the case of the English merchants, has received for answer,—they had for the present no money, would, however, lend the King that sum, if he would cause the English to pay up to them all the money which was owed them. Cottington rejoined: he dared not carry such answer to the King, who had reckoned upon this money as if it lay already in his coffers. They yet persisted in their answer.

11. August 30, 1640. P. 113. The King is proceeding towards Scotland, rather for the purpose of bringing about an accommodation than of levying war; which, without money and good-will on the part of the soldiers, is not possible. Yet Laud and Strafford endeavour to drive things to extremity, inasmuch as the King cannot pacify England and Scotland without a Parliament; and if that were convened their fortunes and lives would be in extreme peril.

12. September 13, 1640. Want of money, and disinclination on the part of the soldiers to embark, has at last compelled them to disband the naval

force. They have offered the officers that they should accompany the expedition to Scotland as private soldiers, and some have accepted. Catholics and Puritans, in all other respects at variance, believe alike in the probability of an early accommodation with the Scots; yet the King has promised the Archbishop, Strafford, and even the Queen, to reject any such, unless it be very advantageous to him in its provisions.

Last Saturday, Cottington came down on the members of the East India Company who had assembled for the disposal of their pepper, and had resolved to make it over to certain private persons for a sum of 700,000 francs payable by four instalments. Cottington told them—he laid embargo on all this pepper in the name of the King, who would keep it on the conditions above mentioned. That for the rest, the King was under no obligation thereto, but that they rather owed him thanks, inasmuch, as he would spend the proceeds of this pepper for the preservation of their lives, properties, and liberties, of all which the Scots looked to despoil them. Cottington took this opportunity to speak of the latter in very injurious fashion, but received from the merchants nothing but the answer: as all the shareholders were not present, but all were interested, no resolution could then with prudence be adopted.

Lord Strafford seeks to prevent a reconciliation with the Scots, his fall being in such case inevitable.

13. Oct. 4, 1640. The popular discontent shews itself more palpably every day in the petitions which pour in from all sides on the King, and almost in the same terms press for the convocation of a parliament. The representation of the Londoners was signed by nearly all the respectable citizens, so that it will be very hard to baffle this petition.

Strafford received last Friday the order of the garter. Every one is surprised that he, instead of seeking to diminish the hate and envy which are entertained towards him, should seek in this manner to raise them still higher.



LETTER LXX.

Trial of Strafford.

Necessity and obligation had at last compelled the King to convene the Parliament, and one of its first measures was the impeachment of Strafford. The official reports of the French ambassador, Montreuil, contain several particular observations upon this trial which I here insert in the order of time of the occurrences.

April 11, 1641. Strafford displays in his defence great eloquence and extraordinary presence of mind. Yet he by no means always justifies his actions, and adduces rather specious than satisfactory grounds of defence.

April 20, 1641. The Lords ordered that the advocates should be in readiness to-day, Strafford also was brought into the House; but the Lower House would send no one, and persists in its resolution to carry through its bills, and to place the judges under

the necessity of condemning the Earl, if not for his own delinquency, at least because of the consequences which would follow his liberation.

May 19, 1641. It is evident that the King is bent upon saving Strafford; on this account he seeks to draw forces from York, allows Sir John Suckling to levy troops, ostensibly for Spain*, in reality for the Earl, and bestirs himself to introduce persons in his confidence into the Tower, that they may set the Earl free. All these measures, real or reported, connected with the sudden determination of the Queen to betake herself to Hampton Court, or, as is believed, to Portsmouth, have induced the Parliament to dispatch the Earl of Pembroke to the King, and to desire him among other things: to forbid the attendants of the Queen, as also his own, to absent themselves from court without his and the Parliament's leave, or in any case to leave England; partly for the purpose of detecting and recognizing delinquents, and partly to prevent them from carrying other plans into execution.

The Lower House wrote at the same time to the leaders to keep a watchful eye on all machinations,

* Probably a mistake of the Ambassador's. The troops raised were alleged to be for the service of Portugal. V. May's History of the Parliament. [Tr.]

and to the army to inform it that it would soon receive its arrears of pay. They further determined that the King could not prorogue or dissolve the Parliament without its consent, and that the introduction of foreign troops into the country was high treason.

The people come down daily to the House of Parliament, and demand aloud the death of Strafford. The King will soon see all means of saving him disappear.

May, 1641. The King assembled this morning a council of conscience, to satisfy himself whether he ought to give his consent to the death of a man whom he considered guiltless, and in the afternoon he held a long consultation with the lawyers, whether Strafford were guilty. In spite of all, he could hardly resolve to impart his consent.

On the Tuesday of last week, the Parliament of Wales sent a letter to the Parliament, with an entreaty that they would not execute Strafford, but banish him for ever. The Commons, who had previous intelligence of this, and were determined not to comply, resolved not to assemble.

LETTER LXXI.

Instruction for the French Ambassador Sabran.—The Queen.—The Prince Palatine.—The Scotch.—Manchester and Cromwell.— Laud's death. — Self-denying bill. — Levies. — City of London.

THE English rebellion would have made greater impression on the European continent, if the unhappy thirty years' war had not engrossed all its energies.

France however sent, in May 1644, Monsieur de Sabran to England with the following instructions*. He was to take the place of Creçy, who was become so suspected by the Parliament, that he could no longer do any service. Sabran was to favour the King in all and every thing towards his restoration to his legitimate power, yet to proceed with such dexterity, as to appear rather as a mediator than a partisan, and not to have ventured too far in case of

* Livres des negociations de Monsieur de Sabran, Envoyé Resident en Angleterre. Mai 17, 1644. Commencé par moi, Leonard Cheylieu, Secretaire, de mon dit Sieur. Bib. Roy. MSS. 9333.

a change. It was to be hoped that God would support the just cause of the King, and it was fitting to work as hitherto in this sense, and yet not as though it were wished to raise him to absolute sovereignty, as, on the contrary, the laws were rather to be upheld as a counterpoise to the excessive power of the King, in order to appease the public mind and suppress the troubles.

The King was to be put in mind of the advantage of an alliance with France, and that he had already obtained from thence in money and munitions of war the amount of 300,000 crowns. Sabran was further instructed to alienate the King from the Spaniards, to whom the King was inclined out of hate towards Cardinal Richelieu. He was to enquire into the counsels of the court and the minister; never to afford the Parliament occasion for suspicion, inasmuch as without the Parliament nothing was to be done; to live on good terms with the Catholics, yet so as the King's interests should not suffer thereby; to warn the Scots not to suffer their country to sink into more dependence upon England; to distrust the Puritans, who fear the existence of monarchy and all regular Government; to counteract the notion of a republic, or of an union with Holland.

Many of the English, meanwhile, mistrusted the fair dealing of France, and in a writing of the time

we find:—the interest which France affects to take in putting an end to our dissensions is so unusually great, that it is not credible; so ill-timed as to become suspected, and bears no resemblance to her earlier conduct (pages 12—15). To what purpose do we need the interference of strangers? Are they anywise better informed of our affairs, more capable of inventing means of assistance, or more sensible of the evil we endure? Do they mean to exhort or compel us? The one is superfluous, the other dangerous, &c.

In later letters of June 10, 17, and 24, 1644, the French minister, Brienne, asserts:—it is a great evil that a political feud should be made into a religious war. I am equally much afraid of an

of both nations. The King will be deposed, or more limited in power than the Doge of Venice. The Parliament, as the stronger body, wishes for no accommodation, but rather for a decision by arms. The King can win but little by a battle, but may lose all. July 22. His army of 8000 men is ill armed and ill paid, and the principal people are at the same time weary of suffering.

The Queen has taken flight, and things are gone so far, that they have removed from the palace, and sold the moveables of her women. August 4 and 20. No one is safe here from popular commotion and violence.

In later letters of Brienne from Paris, we find:— We are about to remove from about the Queen of England all restless and factious persons*, which is not only conducive to our own interests, but also affords the Parliament a proof of our good will. The latter ought to take our services generally in the more friendly manner, as our friends and enemies (for example, the Hollanders) are the same. The public mind in England is, alas, in a contrary state; all contend for the sovereignty, which does not admit of division. Their republic (which would be a democracy) is more to be dreaded than a monarchy, which latter

* She had betaken herself to Paris. [Tr.]



commenced.

Sabran writes hereupon:
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Palatinate, against France.
vember 17, 1644. This d
abandoned.

The *Chancellor* of Scotla
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him who appoints them, bu

people; the first are for the King and obedience, the latter for the people and confusion. Brienne answers, January 6, 1645, we must flatter and gain over the Scotch, whether for the purpose of serving the King of England, or using them against him, if he were to regain too much power, and should become able to annoy us; or to set them in motion against the Parliament, if the latter should establish a republic. Endeavour to gain over the Chancellor of Scotland himself with money. He will, on two grounds, not be offended thereby:—first, because he is a Scotchman, which is as much as to say he is self interested; secondly, because the money comes from France, from which country they have a prescriptive usage of deriving benefits.

Sabran complains in several dispatches that he can find no redress or aid against the atrocious habits of piracy. The Parliament, he writes, December 22, 1644, believes, that it has no occasion to fear any one, and that piracy will produce more than commerce. They see no salvation except in disorder, and further it accordingly at home and abroad.

In the dispute between Manchester and Cromwell*, the Lower House would let nothing be deferred

* See for this dispute, Clarendon's Hist. of Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 13. Oxford edition. [Tr.]

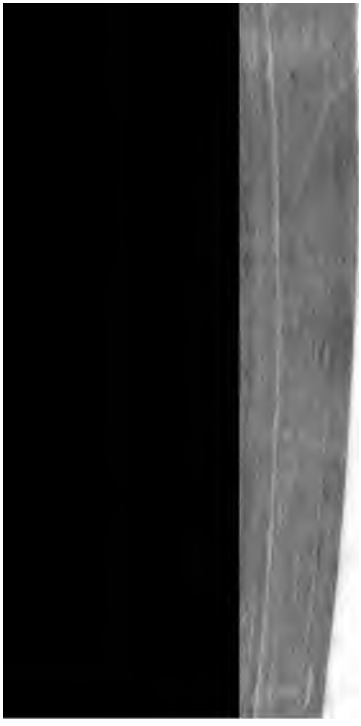
to the Lords, which led o
astounding resolution for ta
from the latter, under the
members of the Lower House
such.

The affair of Laud was me
the Lords. Out of twenty Lo
nine only appeared, and five
ecution, principally because
complaisance in a matter w
them, and because they kne
power to set him free.

No less indecently was
hurried through the House,
twenty Lords only, of whom

People are seized in the streets, and even the French are not spared. July 8, 1645.

The officers of the city of London are now the subtlest and strongest; they manage the levies and payments. The Commons do not venture to offend them, and the Lords are humble servants to both. July 27, 1645.



LETTE

The Ambassadors, Montreuil
peace. — Plan of the King for
Proposals of the Independents
Scotland.—Charles in the Scot
of faith.—Negociations.—Surr
Cromwell.—Position of Franc
dependents and the Scotch.—
paign.—Negociations with the
Defeat of the Scotch.—The L
ment.—Carrying off of the K
Trial and execution of the Kin

AFTER the war had done
between the party of the k
ment, France sent two am
whom one, Monsieur de
Charles—the other, Mons
don *. Their reports, and

the French minister for foreign affairs, afford many illustrations of the history of the years 1645 down to 1649.

1. Letter of Montreuil, of August 10 and 31, 1645. The Parliament having ordered a fast on August 10th, I could obtain no horses for my departure; on such days it is even forbidden to travel on foot. I have now had an audience of the Scottish deputies, and spoken warmly in favour of peace. The Parliament is jealous, therefore, and fears that my mission has for its object the separation of Scotland from England. I am entirely of opinion that the King must, above all things, reconcile himself with the Scotch, and prefer the preservation of his throne to all the bishops' mitres in England. The others also wish for peace, only its conclusion is rendered difficult by the bad circumstances of the king and the jealousy of the country.

2. Letter of Montreuil, of September 23 and Oct. 12, 1645.—All parties are inclined to peace; the weaker, because it is necessary to them; the stronger, and these are the Independents, because they fear that the others might get beforehand with them; the King, because Montrose has been beaten, and Bristol taken. On this account the Earl of Holland came to me, and said—"the King has no other means of salvation but to throw himself into the arms of the

Scottish army." I spoke upon this subject w
Earl Balmerino, as if the idea came from mys
he answered, he much approved the notion,
King would certainly be preserved should he
them; but he feared the plan was impractica
reason of his distance from the Scottish arm
the meantime, nothing could be devised mo
tary for him and them if he could adopt and
such a design.

We now agreed upon this, that he should c
nicate his plan to the Chancellor of Scotlan
persuade him to give commission to Sir
Moray to broach the subject at court.

It were well to induce the Queen of Engl
recommend this mode of exit from the diffic

tion and establishment of their system in England. Should the parliament reject these conditions, they are willing to unite their means with those of the King, and extort compliance. I doubt, however, that the Independents seriously wish for a peace, and hold the execution of these conditions for difficult, if for nothing else, because they are already known.

It is reported, that Prince Rupert, in taking farewell of the king, has addressed lively reproaches to him; and has said to him, among other things, that he maintains about him manifest knaves and scoundrels. (Coquins et mechans.)

4. Letter of Montreuil, of January 1, 1646. I have found the Scottish parliament split into three parties. 1st, That of Argyle, which wishes to destroy the king and the monarchy. 2d, That of Hamilton, which declares its wishes for the maintenance of both, while it labours underhand for their destruction. 3d. That of those who, independent of either party, entertain a wish for the king and the monarchy, but do not consider themselves strong enough, or are not courageous and bold enough to adopt the necessary measures, &c.

Two days before my arrival in Scotland, they had resolved in the articles in which public matters are prepared for the parliament, that if the King should come to Scotland, they would secure his person

the King will be more inclined to afford them satisfaction before he shall be irritated afresh, and certainly reduced to despair. Although Argyle and Hamilton gave me hopes, they yet either could not or would not bring anything to pass in the Parliament; and it remained settled, that the resolution above mentioned should be carried into effect in due season.

As I saw that it remained impossible for me to fulfil my purpose, I departed on the same day, but spoke once again previously with the friends of the King. They persisted in their opinion of the necessity of yielding to Argyle and Hamilton. I then asked them if they conceived the King to be lost without this, and saved with it? The wisest and most cordial expressed nothing but doubt on this subject; those who spoke more decidedly seemed to me least well-wishers to the King.

Out of 200 voices in the Parliament, some seven alone were for the King. It is true the Duke of Hamilton (together with some others) threw in a negative; but, in truth, the King has in him a dangerous enemy, who seeks out of his treason to extract proofs of his fidelity, and by protestations in favour of the King, to come by the crown for himself.—Thus there is nothing to hope for Charles; yet it is to be foreseen, that the parties of Argyle and



him a man of blood, t
many people, an enemy

5. Letter of Montr
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to me, I will never gi
my people demand of
shameful to do for the
which one has refused
but also, because I beli
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states.

The King further sai
kingdom. Should this
that lay in his power
to convey him to Scotla
must make up his mind
to the determination of

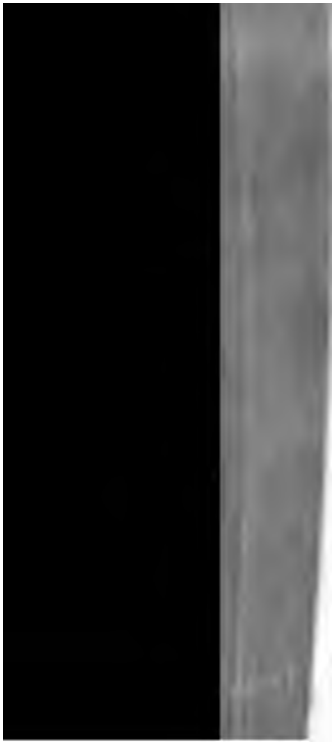
I am of opinion, the f
the best, and in every

that flight will, perhaps, be no longer possible. Should the King not accept the covenant and Presbyterianism, his notion of going to Scotland is frustrate. He would find in England, if not more friends, more persons at least who do not trouble themselves about either of these matters.

The Scots wish for no contest with the English, and will end in doing whatsoever the latter demand. They will either not receive the King, or will place him in as strict confinement as the Independents wish.

All the representations, however, which I have made to the King on this subject, not having altered his resolution, I exerted myself to gain over the heads of the Scottish army, and shewed them that their covenant itself bound them never to desert their King. By supporting him, they would restore the honour of their nation, which must be stained by the resolution of Parliament for the delivering up of the King. They would, moreover, should they maintain the King, continue formidable to the Independents, upon whose friendship they never would be able to reckon.—In spite of all, there is no appearance that what myself or others say or do, will have the effect we desire.

I again endeavoured to move the King, to reconcile himself now to the English, because in the end



I venture to mention :
King does two things wine
own moment. In the fi
English by shewing how
In the second, he gives th
all the greater satisfaction
leaving him up to them i
sions.

The King, when Monsr
publickly to declare :—1st. T
the demands of the Scots
the establishment of Presby

2d. That he is come int
the assurances of France,
which the King has given h

* The following passage from
2, p. 67, illustrates this. Monsr

Montreuil was of opinion, it was not politic so to deal as though the rejection of the Scottish proposals proceeded from France. In this manner he would soon lose the confidence of the Scots, and be removed from about the King. Even after the latter had at last betaken himself to the Scottish camp, Montreuil thought it sufficient to say, that the confirmation of the covenant and other things now required by the Scots had not been demanded by them when they caused the King to be brought into their camp. This shews, said he, what injustice they commit, if they now press matters which they previously did not want, and with what justice the King now rejects that which they actually promised not to demand.

The Scottish Lords in the camp, however, according to Ashburnham's narrative, falsely so represented themselves as though they had been ignorant of what had passed in discussion with the Scottish plenipotentiaries. Montreuil also had written from the camp to the King, that all the previous notions had been set aside. The English army and the English Parliament equally repulsed the King; no choice remained to him *. The Scots

* This was also the opinion of Colepepper. Vid. Ashburnham, II, 180.



It is, in fact, t
general, that Mon
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Montreuil only say
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has promised.—Montre
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that if the Scots fulfilled not their engagements, France was no less offended than Charles I.

The Scotch promised moreover Montreuil as much as 20,000 jacobuses, if he would bring Charles over to accept their proposals. Feb. 20, 1647.

Before I proceed with the later letters of Montreuil, it is necessary to adduce some illustrations from the correspondence of Grignon and Brienne.

1. Grignon to Brienne, Sept. 6, 13, and 20, 1646. The mayor and council of London think of taxing the tradesmen, who however shew no inclination to come forward with money. The produce to be applied to the payment and disbanding of the army, which however is much dreaded by the Independents, whose consequence rests entirely on the soldiers.

Should the King this time also refuse to accept the conditions, he loses the Scots and all the Presbyterians, and throws all the advantage into the hands of the Independents. These endeavour in all ways to prevent an agreement, and next, by fresh declarations to make a reconciliation for ever impossible.

2. Brienne to Grignon, Aug. 31. Sept. 20 and 28, 1646.—One might advise the King rather to attempt a flight than to sign anything by which he may forfeit the right to restore his own power by his own means, or those of other states.

His refusal to sign is certainly a step towa
struction, but we cannot, if he yields to mere v
reproach him with the having broken his wo
the people then, who might otherwise arra
selves against him, will want plausible prete
The Queen of England is against the acc
of the proposals; and the members of the
Council find therein so many inconvenienc
they cannot determine themselves to recomm
acceptance of those conditions as a last resou
3. Grignon to Brienne, Oct. 4, 11, 18,
1646. The Scotch are not yet decided whet
will deliver or keep the King. They fear sham
one hand and danger on the other. Many
pendents do not wish for him to be delive
but say the further from England the better.
would fain depose him, in opposition to wh
friends think they have gained much for him
kept in honourable restraint, this hard alt
being preferable to more dangerous propo
These friends of the King further compla
Charles has not for the last two months mad

* In a letter of March 22, 1646, Charles entreats
not to move the Prince of Wales to a change of reli
not to marry him without Charles's consent. Bibl. H
6988. p. 125.

the smallest offer or given them opportunity for taking his part, wherefore it is to be feared that they must abandon the hope of doing anything for the common good, and seek an escape for themselves.

Should the King not concede every thing unconditionally in the matter of Presbyterianism, he can reckon on no party in England or Scotland. Every delay on his part adds to the strength of the Independents. Nov. 8, 1646.

4. Brienne to Grignon, Oct. 19, 1646 *. After Montreuil's arrival the King must declare what he means to do. We abide by our first opinion, that every alternative is better for him than to commit himself so far as they have wished to bring him. As however his own views and those of his wife are opposed to his doing so, nothing more remains for us than to lay before him the difficulties of the proposals hitherto made, and then to let him make his choice.

5. Brienne to Grignon, Dec. 11, 1646. The rejection of the King's proposal we consider as a consequence of his despondency, and a sign that for his own advantage he must comply with their demands. Should he not now determine, either to acknowledge

* According to a letter of Brienne's, of Sept. 25, Montreuil had brought the last proposals in person to Paris. This explains the interruption in his correspondence.



If the Scots deliver up the King they deal against their duty, and against what they have promised.

The King has formally given me his word, that if he for the present keep secret what the Scots promised him, he will never speak of the promises I made him at Oxford, upon which he knows and has acknowledged that he did not come to this army.

It is true the Scots aver they would do every thing towards the King's restoration if he would accept the covenant; but they will in no wise involve themselves in a contest with the English. Perhaps they seek his compliance chiefly for the purpose of ruining him finally with the Independents, whose reconciliation with him they greatly dread.

If, for the rest, the mischances of the King throw every one into astonishment who hears of them, the firmness with which he bears them, is a still greater object of admiration to those who see it.

9. Montreuil to Brienne, Feb. 12, 1647. The Queen Henrietta was against the acceptance of the covenant; the Scots on the other hand desired it, in order to withdraw themselves with some honour out of this bad transaction, and to give the people some satisfaction, which latter is dissatisfied with the mode and fashion in which the Parliament maltreats the King.

After the arrival of the English commissioners, the

King asked the Scottish, whether they meant to d
liver him up? They answered, their garrison w
about to withdraw itself from the place, and that t
English would occupy it at the same mome
Hereupon the King sent for the English deputies a
settled in discussion with them his departure for t
3d (13th) Feb. To the question whether he might ta
with him two of his old chaplains, and some Sco
men, they answered no! Yet they wrapped up th
negative in very respectful expressions and sai
he would be received by his people with every d
scription of applause, and that no King of Engla
would have been so powerful as he could be! The
are in words the expressions of which they made us

If the King had made public what Moray and h
cousin had done to bring him into the Scottish cam
this would have been very advantageous to him, b
he did not choose to break entirely with that part
although it visibly deceived him.

The King has declared himself, in writing, sati
fied with my conduct, and has expressly forbidde
me to make known the foul dealing of the Scot
He has farther considered it very unbecoming to d
this himself, although I represented to him th
grounds which seemed to bind him to this determ
nation.

The King gave me back also the paper, with th

assurances which I had handed over to him in Oxford.

The delivering up of the King has increased to loathing the detestation of the English against the Scotch. They do not cease to utter reproaches against them, and call them Jews who sold their King. Nay, it was only by threats and blows that the English officers could restrain the women from pursuing the Scottish garrison with stones.

10. Montreuil to Brienne, June 2, 1647. The Scots are astounded at the events in England, and the victory of the Independents. They see before them the ruin of their religion and also of their property, which latter they prize much higher than the former. Argyle and his adherents would fain adopt hasty measures; Hamilton, on the contrary, seeks to gain time, out of fear that his rival may obtain the command of the army. The preachers finally shew, that it is a duty to introduce Presbyterianism into England, even if not invited thereto.

11. Grignon to Brienne, October 28, and November 11, 1647. The hopes of the King continue, and are grounded, not as formerly, upon the entire army, but upon the division which has taken place in it, and which he thinks must compel one of the two parties to declare itself for him. Yet he knows how much many are striving to suppress all further nego-

ciation, that they may not lose the pretext afforded them by his refusal.

Whether, however, he accept the conditions, or any other result occur, the realm will equally suffer unless something new should occur by which it may profit more than by the events which have hitherto occurred. They know that the King, for three months back, has trusted principally to what has been said to him by Cromwell and Ireton, as well as Hampden, Lambert, and some others, whose origin and exploits were not before so illustrious that even their names could be known.

The suspicion of standing in connection with the King, has, however, so diminished the consequence of these officers, that Rainsborough, who commands the naval forces, entered the council of war last

him, and the Scots think that the beaten party, especially if it should be Cromwell, must join them; for with the others they would with difficulty find their reckoning.

13. Montreuil to Brienne, February 8, 22, and 29, 1648.—I believe that neither the Presbyterians nor the Independents are earnest in wishing to save the King, whom they have so much outraged.

The Scottish clergy preach against the King, and curse all those who would bring together the saintly soldiers of their army, with the criminals and malignants who have served the King. They counsel backwards and forwards without knowing how to dispose themselves in England; that however which Charles has conceded in the Isle of Wight, appears to the clergy insufficient, and not to be accepted. They excommunicate meanwhile the Catholics, and compel them to leave Scotland.

14. Brienne to Grignon, February 7 and 19, and March 3, 1648.—France is so involved in war, that she does not wish to mix herself with an army in the affairs of England, or so to act as to lead perhaps the victorious party to ally itself with Spain. She wishes however really and heartily, a reasonable accommodation between the King and the Parliament. I do not flag in my endeavours to convince the King that he ruins his cause by giving the



of the Scots on the subject of negociations between the army and the King, or to cut them off from pretexts connected with this restoration; the army, in all or in part, entertaining the same project.

16. Cardinal Mazarin to Grignon, March 13, 1648. —I am of opinion the King of England is not a little obliged to those who invented manifestoes against him, refused to negociate with him, and proposed conditions destructive of the monarchy; for instead of exciting the people in their cause, this has only re-awakened their inclination towards the King, and called forth compassion for his calamities.

17. Montreuil to Brienne. March 14 and 23, 1648. The Scots fear that if they oppose the Independents, the high church would again raise its head. The Clergy also preach against a war to the advantage of the King, and say: after having confined the raging animal, (le furieux,) and put gyves upon his feet, they must take good heed not to give him liberty and place the sword in his hand.— Clergy and Parliament are, however, by no means at one.

Representations against the war proceed from many parts of Scotland, and prove that they trouble themselves little about the King. The smaller gentry

had much rather strike down the Lords as they have the King.

18. Grignon to Brienne. March 16 and 30, 1648. The army of the Independents is, it is true, stronger than the Scottish; they have, however, several grounds for anxiety.

1st, Many counties are dissatisfied, and inclined to rise upon the advance of the Scots.

2d, London can only be held in check by leaving troops there.

3d, In the army itself there are officers and soldiers who betray good will and compassion towards the King. It is true they seek to remove or to disband all these, as also all who are inclined to Presbyterianism, but there are so many such that the army must thereby be much diminished.

on one point. The latter, namely, would fain reconcile themselves with the Protestants, the former wish to extirpate them and are supported by the Pope's nuntio.

The Queen of England wishes France to give great assistance to the Scots, but I fear they are not strong enough to overcome the English, or that the latter may make alliance with Spain.

20. Montreuil to Brienne. April 4 and 21, 1648. The declaration of the Scottish clergy against the King is beyond measure strong. They resolved to depose the preacher, Ramsay, (the only one who refused to read that declaration in his church, and who yet ventures to speak in favour of his prince,) but the women of his flock are bolder than the Parliament. They followed him, to wit, into the assembly where he was to be deprived, uttered very offensive expressions against the leaders for their conduct, and added, "if you mean to dispossess our preacher, or to do the least evil to one of our old clergy, we will find means to hunt you out of the land, as we, the women, hunted out the bishops of old."

The Parliament now orders the public affairs by itself, the clergy refusing to act upon its views.

21. Grignon to Brienne. April 6 and 1
It is reported that there are more divisions
land than in England, and the Scots muc
fighting one another than the English. Th
power spread these reports, and even add t
are on the point of concluding a treaty
King, only for the purpose of restraining th
from declaring for him.

Although the English army is only 12,00
they mean to dismiss twenty men from ea
pany, chiefly out of suspicion.

The citizens of London see very plainly t
committed a gross error, in calling in the
appease the revolt of their comrades. They
doubling their guards, fixing chains, and

in Scotland, neither unity of purpose nor spirit towards the war. Hamilton and Argyle remain enemies as before.

The church commission sent orders to the Clergy, on pain of deposition to preach against the levies. June 13 and 17, 1648. The Parliament, on the other hand, ordered every one who opposed these levies to be arrested, and his goods to be confiscated. Hereupon the Clergy ordered two solemn fast days, in order to pray God solemnly to inspire the ministers with other projects, or to cause the present designs to fail. July 25, and Aug. 14, 1648. They determined that every one of their own profession who should follow the army, should fall under ban and lose his emoluments.

23. Brienne to Grignon. June 22, and July 11, 1648. The King has equally little hope of restoration, whether parties unite or one overthrow the other. Our want of money and the position of our affairs has not permitted us to do anything for the King; we should also always fear to offend the English without affecting his restoration.

24. Grignon to Brienne. July and Aug. 1648. Nearly the whole people is deceived as to the pretext used by the Parliament. July 16 and 20, 1648. The latter very mistakenly delays an accommodation with the King, while his enemies and the army are



are devoted to them, and London is arming to support the Prince of Wales; the Lower House troubles itself little about the Upper, and the party of the Independents in London has hitherto known how to baffle all the schemes of its adversaries. To this must be added the slowness of civic determinations and measures, and the circumstance that the Lower House has declared every one a traitor who should in any manner support the Prince of Wales. Should however the Prince of Wales choose to lay under confiscation the London ships in the Downs, in order thereby to compel the city to declare for him, this blow upon their commerce would rather provoke indignation and afford the superiority to his enemies, already strong.

It is true the Parliament is hated, yet it is honoured in the actual state of things, and the King is nowise enough beloved to make the people break with it for his sake. Aug. 16, 1648.

Many would desire that some towns should declare for the King, but these projects are not conducted with the necessary silence, and the enemies are on their guard. Aug. 20, 1648.

25. Grignon to Brienne. Aug. 27 and 28, 1648. The inclination of the King to negociate has so surprised every one, that even those who most hang

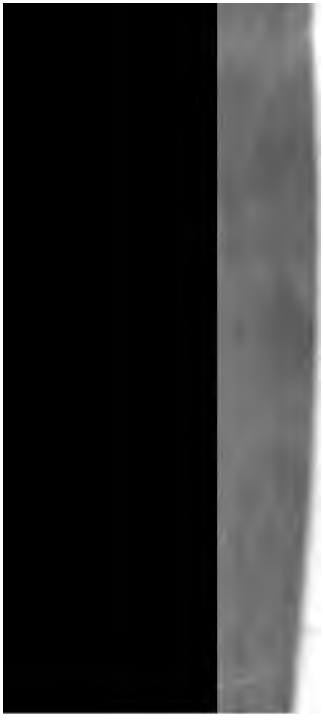


and the title of a King; or in the event of his rejecting their conditions by reason of their severity, they will under that pretext shut him up closer and come to determinations even bolder than the former.

It seems doubtful whether it were better for the King now to return to any public situation and to activity, or to wait till the people, wearied with ill-treatment of him, which they like himself suffer under, begin to think of shaking off the new yoke. Their own misery and the instigation of the King's friends and the Presbyterians, might soon lead to this result; but their adversaries would then have strengthened themselves further than before the last troubles, and destroy new alliances, or even anticipate them.

In any case, the Independents act with great dissimulation, and it is difficult to come at their secrets. September 10, 1648.

27. Grignon to Brienne, September 14, 17, and 28, 1648. The Levellers are beginning to attract notice. They are a sect, or rather a faction, which is opposed not only to the monarchy, but to all kind of precedence or sovereignty, and wishes to make men as equal, in respect of wealth and property, as with respect to office and authority. This is perhaps merely a stroke of Cromwell's policy, in order



the King's mind, and the pr
make him on the other hand
Isle of Wight, and into the
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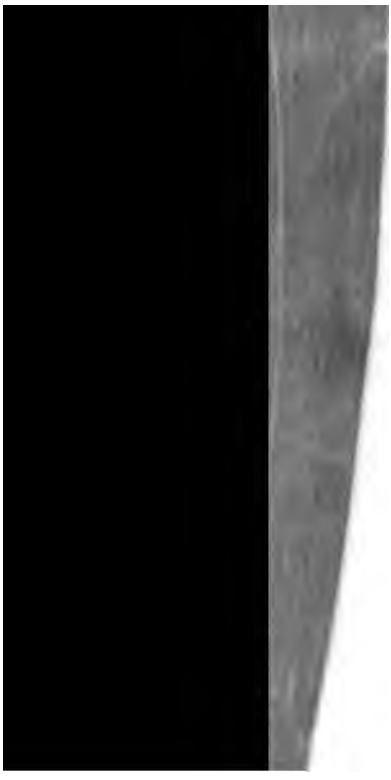
Some persons hope, that
should hasten to Scotland,
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not hesitate to deliver him
father two years since.

Others speak of the Princ
this is easier said than do
there are greater than ever
more at variance with one

Protestants. The impatient Catholic party allows itself to be led blindly by the nuntio. November 7 and 28, 1648.

28. Grignon to Brienne, October, 1648. The army as yet does not declare itself, but from the conduct of the leaders and certain levies, it may be plainly seen to what it is about to proceed. October 8. Those leaders have, among other things, sent a regiment to the Isle of Wight, in order to be as strong as the militia there, which the friends of the King are striving to gain over, in order that after the conclusion of a treaty, they may not be obliged to hold to what they now promise. The officers are fully convinced that they can control any hostile movement, but prefer shewing such strength from the first, that none may have the will to attempt any thing.

So soon as the King and the Parliament shall touch upon the question of disbanding the army, the latter will probably take other measures. October 12. Between the General Fairfax, on the one hand, and Ireton and Rainsborough on the other, so clear a breach has occurred, that the latter came to London to complain of the other. Yet there is ground to believe that this dissension is by no means in earnest, but merely contrived, in order to avail themselves of the course of events. They proceeded formerly,



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saries from Parliamen
true, as yet not unani
they are daily discuss
are daily presented to
name of a county, at
all directed to the de
dissolution of the mon
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29. Grignon to Brier
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Although the

it was not satisfied. November 5, 1648. This destroys the hopes of many, and excites the belief that those in power have never seriously thought of a reconciliation. The arrival of Scottish deputies with new demands, which are read out to-day, is very much to their accommodation. It is known, however, that Cromwell has talked this all over with the present leaders in Scotland, and that he thinks as little now of the King's restoration as he did in former years. Much as the Independents are opposed to the covenant, they have yet determined that every one shall take it, merely because they know that the King will reject it, and this is a certain means to break off all negociation with him.

30. Mazarin to Grignon, November 7, 1648. The peace with the Empire and the facility thereby afforded for concluding a peace with Spain, might contribute to bring about an accord between the King of England and his subjects. Nor are kings and princes without an interest in that matter, that the King may not be suppressed, and England converted into a republic.

31. Grignon to Brienne, November 16, 1648. New projects of the King's friends and the Presbyterians are spoken of. They are, in fact, seriously employed in preparing an insurrection in Wales and the western counties. In fact, however,

Holmby. Hampden will the more readily to this, inasmuch as in that case, he has no fulfil the hopes he has excited in the K only to afford Joyce the time requisite for th tion of his plan, did they the day before y prolong by one day the time granted for the tion with the King.

What they mean next to do with him, i say, yet we cannot but argue the worst fr they do, and say, and demand; and in fact the more, the more the people love and hon acknowledge his goodness, and compassi sufferings.

34. Grignon to Brienne, December 10 1648. The Parliament seeks to gain time, army is already advanced to within ten London, determined to repel all opposition

The King finds himself in their power, heads of this party by no means conceal th ed principles and ends, but seek to make ceptable to the people. They will not he adopting a resolution to get rid of the King monarchy, and, at the utmost, they may d specting the best means of executing these intentions.

The city having made some difficulties conveying 40,000*l.* to the army, the latter,

siderations of the public good, partly with a view to keep what they have acquired during the troubles, the leaders connected with the army yet entertain other views, and will know how to bring others over to their opinion. Their plans are incompatible with an ordered Government, and the above mentioned declaration of the army is only made public either to shew the people that it does not present a reconciliation, or because no one believed in one. In any case, with respect to all these matters that only will come to pass which may please the soldiers. It is true the existing Government and this military tyranny is hated; but the leaders endeavour to establish themselves in such fashion that neither detestation of high and low towards themselves, nor love of the same towards the King, can be dangerous to them.

33. Grignon to Brienne, December 8 and 7, 1648. The King has, alas, not accepted unconditionally the terms—the Parliament not concluded the treaty. Both are moving to their destruction. Many Independents have betaken themselves to the city, in order, if possible, to carry through their views by a majority of voices, without violence; but at the same time they have sent (December 5) the notorious Joyce, two days ago, to the Isle of Wight, probably to carry away the King, as formerly they did from

The Presbyterians would willingly receive the offers of the King, or prorogue the Parliament for a season; but will be the less able to effect one or the other object, as many of them remain at home, and those who shew themselves in the Parliament do not give their votes so boldly as if they were deliberating in entire freedom. They have carried the king to Hurst Castle, which is situated on a rock between the Isle of Wight and the main land.

35. Grignon to Brienne, Dec. 17, 21, and 28, 1648. The army has arrested its enemy, the Parliament, an act of violence which in other times would have done it much injury; but now the greater the confusion and injustice, the more it is favoured by circumstances. It is true, they have as yet shrunk from offering violence to individual citizens; yet seve-

a moment when it is in condition to effect any thing.

Cromwell and his adherents are resolved, if not to proceed to the last extremity against the King, yet to shew that it stands in their power to do so, and that they have a right to consider his mere imprisonment as an act of grace. And if some would fain preserve his person, yet in that they aim, in no respect, at his restoration to power, but at the further establishment of their own.

36. Brienne to Grignon, Dec. 19, 1648. The idea that subjects should give up the head of their sovereign to the executioner, is so opposite to all their duties, that no one will, nor will I, believe it. And yet I know how much reason there is to fear it.

37. Grignon to Brienne, Dec. 31, 1648. The circumstance of their having brought the King to Windsor, occasions much reflection to those who are interested for his affairs, nay, for his *life*. I feel how strangely this expression must sound, and would willingly avoid using it if I could do so consistently with my duty. They have, as I know, made a wicked proposition in the council of war, which has been rejected in his favour by only five voices. Every one in the army who opposes the proposition of bringing him to trial, is called a royalist, and the whole controversy between Cromwell and Ireton, consists

in that the latter wishes to begin with the K
former with the Lords and other persons of
Were these two men, upon whom the whole
dependent, really at variance, they would
greatly to be dreaded; as it is, the whole is a
of Cromwell, who has always been accusto
create an appearance of dissension where nor
existed. He holds language, however, to his
as though, if he be supported, the King wo
only be out of danger, but restored to his
In fact, however, he is far from this thought,
even to-day proposed in the Commons, that
shall have entrance there who refuses to ackn
that they have the right to bring the King
and to condemn him.

Perhaps all these things are not so near
pretend, for the purpose of frightening there
Presbyterians, and the friends of the King.
also said, that they seek privately to indu
Prince of Wales to reconcile himself to them,
only means of preserving his father's life a
own crown; if, however, they had the whole
in their power, it would go so much the wor
men of their stamp would rather be restrained
fear of the harm the Prince might do them, t
the respect they owe to their rulers.

38. Grignon to Brienne, Jan. 4, 1649.

one expect any moderate resolution from Cromwell and his son-in-law, much might be hoped for the King. For they would not then, loaded as they are with the people's hate, govern as now under its name, and deprive their enemies of the most specious pretext for undertaking anything against them with effect. They have, however, pushed all things to such an extreme of violence, that they will so much the more contemn all mild measures, no one being forthcoming to oppose them *. Some Presbyterians, it is true, and friends of the King, think of raising an insurrection in the north, by the aid of the daily increasing malcontents in that quarter; but the leaders are so well informed of every thing, and so observant, that it will be difficult to surprise them.

39. Grignon to Brienne, Jan. 18, 1649. The protest which the Scots wish to make against what is done here, will by no means frighten the doers, whether it be that they think their friends in Scotland will be able to neutralize the effect of resolutions somewhat adverse to them, or whether they

* Mazarin wrote to Grignon, Jan. 6, 1649, to do all he could for the King, and to follow the written instructions of the Queen of England. She wrote to the Speaker and the General, and asked for passports to come to England, but they refused to open the letter, on the pretence that the superscription was not sufficient.

believe that Scotland in general is not in a condition to do them hurt. To the misfortune of the King also, the commons of the troubles in *Paris* double the audacity of his enemies, who hitherto have always believed that France was in condition to give him assistance.

4th. Chignon to Bidcome, January 25, 1649. The enemies of the King exhibit such animosity against him, that they will not lose a moment of time, albeit, their pleas are so void of reason, and contrary to their own interest, that nothing but wild hate and despair could make them so obstinate.

The Elector, Charles Louis of the Palatinate, has attempted to divert the General Fairfax, and Cromwell, from this course, or at least to stop the trial; but the former has put him off with courtesies, and

ment was in conformity to the natural usages, or that they grudged him the advantage. For all the people, even many of his friends, were moved and struck by the strength of his reasoning, the beauty of his eloquence, and the grace with which he delivered himself. To this was added the sympathy with his condition, and the sadness of such a spectacle. That no enterprise for his rescue might be set on foot or executed, they convey him every night to another lodging and double his guards.

Meanwhile they examine witnesses, whose evidence goes merely to this, that they have seen the King on this or that day of battle, with a sword in his hand. The doers, however, have a plan for bringing all to an end in this week *.

42. Grignon to Brienne, February 8, 1649. The commissioners have, on the 5th, passed sentence of death on the King, and summoned him the day before yesterday to hear it. Well informed of this intention, he demanded that the Lords and Commons

* Grignon had, in truth, express command from Paris to be active in every respect for the King's interests, but was fearful of venturing on any active measures, being convinced that such would not help the King but might well injure the interests of France. The envoys from the Netherlands were the first who came forward openly for the King, but it was determined not to give them audience till after the termination of the trial. February 13. Mazarin again renewed his former commands.

should hear him before it should be pr
The Commissioners having consulted upo
half an hour in another chamber returned
President Bradshawe declared to the King
request could not be complied with.
deavoured, hereupon, in a long speech, t
strate that the dealings of the King
criminal, and that the English people were
in bringing him to trial and condemnatio
the sentence had been read, the King
speak, but was not listened to, but rough
and led forth.

The Commissioners then held a meeting
day, hour, place, and circumstance of the e
but neither yesterday nor the day before
come to any resolution. It is, however, mu
that they may come to a decision this evening
of to-morrow. A scaffold is already erect
site Whitehall, perhaps only to divert obser
to mislead, inasmuch as they think of St
Park or Westminster.

Some still flatter themselves that those
have wished only to shew what they had
do, but afterwards to practise mercy and
King in confinement. This were very likel
their own interest, but as things now sta
difficult to believe that they entertain this

43. Grignon to Brienne, February 11, 1649. No consideration, no reverence can restrain these men. They would condemn and put to death their King as such, to shew their mode of dealing, and their power, to frighten the Princes his children, and all such as might wish to meddle with them. God has perhaps allowed them to proceed to such a point of audacity, in order to excite in all the inhabitants of this country double animosity against the authors of this crime, and to raise up the sword, all neighbours and allies, to revenge the insult which, in the person of the King of England, has been perpetrated upon all sovereigns.

The day before yesterday, February 9, a little before two o'clock, the King came forth from a window of the palace of Whitehall upon the scaffold hung with black, attended by the guard and two or three gentlemen who had waited on him since his arrest. After he had spoken very little with the persons on the scaffold, he prepared himself and seemed to affect to do nothing, which might make it believed that he had wished to delay his death. But in less than a quarter of an hour was this sad solemnity over, and the spectacle was beheld of the death of a prince who deserved better fortune and more obedient subjects. All the bystanders admired his determination and firmness. He looked calmly on

all the preparations for his death, spoke
with the same absence of embarrassment,
himself and laid himself down, and suffere
atrocious violence that ever was commi
unexampled resignation.

The Bishop of London, who assisted
singularly edified by his conduct, and saic
could not be more Christian. Upon his
tion, the King replied he died a Protes
body is still at Whitehall, and it is said
Parliament is willing to let him be burie
same honours and solemnity as his forefat

The boasted improvement of the state
but a revolution, and the army practises
more tyranny than would have been possi
King during his whole life and in his hig
of authority. More taxes also and imp
been levied in one month, than were raise
in several years, even including those whi
the pretext for insurrection.

44. Grignon to Brienne, February 15
1649. All those attached to the army say
nothing was ever more legitimate than
horrible murder, and boast of having give
ample to all nations of gaining their freed
yet it is always less surprising that men of w
hold such language, than that preachers s

present from their pulpits this as just before God, and assure that all of their faith would defend such doctrine.

The doers are agreed that it is wished to introduce a popular Government in name; the dispute is only whether it shall be so in fact. For so soon as the opinion of Cromwell and Ireton shall be adopted, a council of state, composed of as few persons as possible, will govern every thing. As this, moreover, is only to be changed by the Parliament, whose convention, however, is dependent on the council, it will retain in fact all power, while it constantly gives out that it is in the hands of the people. The account, however, that Scotland acknowledges Charles II., and that Ireland has declared against them, disturbs for the present their plans *.

45. Grignon to Brienne, March 4, 15, and 19, 1649. The Council of State wished to begin its business, but met with many difficulties. Some of the persons named to it, for example, rejected all participation, and the others fell into such disputes, that more than twenty opposed a resolution of fifteen others, by which all was to be confirmed that had been done against the King and towards the establishment of the new government. This disunion

* St. Germain, No. 1185—1187, Bibl. Roy. 777—779.

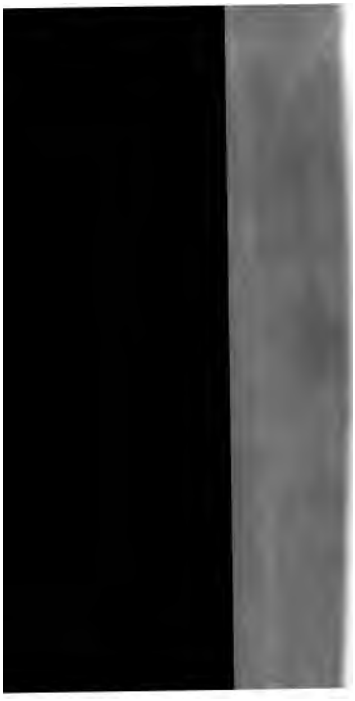


LETTER LXXIII.

Reports of the Ambassador Bordeaux.—War.—Cromwell and the Parliament.—The Army.—The Anabaptists.—Cromwell Protector.—Entry into London.—New Elections.—Conspiracies.—Violent Proceedings.—Character and Ill Condition of Cromwell.—His Sons.—Restoration of the Monarchy.

I HAVE met with no matter of importance relative to the first three years of Cromwell's sovereignty, it is only with the year 1653 that a new series occurs of diplomatic reports of Monsieur de Bordeaux to the minister Brienne, from which I extract what follows:—

January, 1653. The city of London and the merchants are averse to a war with Holland. Those in power, on the other hand, are in need of a foreign war, in order to preserve their only support, the army. For a week past Cromwell has been engaged with his officers in continual fasting and praying that the Holy Ghost may accord him the necessary light for the conduct of affairs.



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is the result of those which also exist in the army, although it is the policy of all parties to unite against the King and the Scots.

The greatest noise is made by the Levellers, who give themselves out for friends of the people and their liberties, and therefore meet with applause from the multitude. While, however, they talk, write books, and institute attempts, which the others know how to illude, Cromwell's party acts with far greater ability, confirms itself every day more, and leads every thing through the Council of State.

The Commons, to defend their conduct in utterly subverting the State, caused a declaration to be drawn up and translated into all languages, that every nation may be acquainted with their enormities. They are so delighted with what no one

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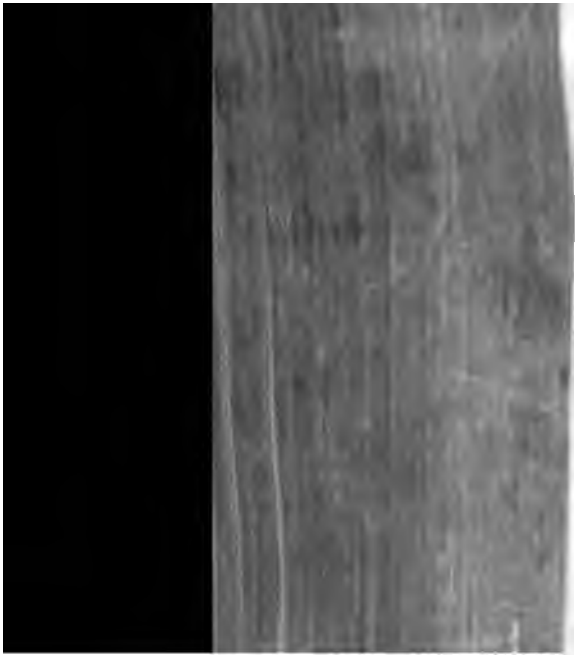
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sult the Catholics, and sent a guard to a church, to prevent an Independent preacher from driving out a Presbyterian, as had happened on a former Sunday. Even the gentry think to find their advantage in his rule, and would as willingly see him their governor as the legitimate one.

July 17. He next renounced, in deed, the power which had devolved to him by the dissolution of the Parliament, but was chosen with four officers, in order to name persons in the place of those who would not take part in the new Parliament. Soon afterwards some mechanics presented to the Privy Council a representation of a very presumptuous nature upon the liberation of Colonel Lilburne, in which they even ventured to declare, that the new Parliament was not legal. August 18, 1653.

November 24, 1653. According to a resolution of Parliament, the oath is abolished which was prescribed at the establishment of the republic, and which conveyed an express abolition of the monarchy. Many wish for its restoration, few cumber themselves as into whose hands it may fall. The army alone would be in a condition to oppose it; the majority of the officers, however, who have enriched themselves, and are in possession of great wealth, appear to prefer a stable government which would secure their

gains, to the revolutions which seem to be in
under the present forms.

At the moment, Cromwell is more unc
than ever, although the Anabaptists migh
his position. November 27 and Decer
1653. The Council has summoned some
preachers before it, and has warned them w
mildness not to speak of politics from the pul
returned, however, for answer: that they c
reject that with which the Holy Ghost inspi

December 22, 1653. A new alteration l
out in the Parliament. The Speaker, with
ing the end of a deliberation upon the fo
government, rose and invited all who were c
nion to follow him. Some fifty hereupon w
some thirty armed Anabaptists and Level

prised at first, and declared the load was too great for him; afterwards, however, he acceded, and promised to labour for the protection of good people.

December 29, 1653. The day on which Cromwell was declared Protector, the cannon of the Tower were fired, the soldiers made a feu de joie, and bonfires were to be seen before the public buildings; but the people gave no sign of approbation.

Feb. 23, 1654. On his solemn entry he was received like a King: the mayor went before him with the sword in his hand, about him nothing but officers who do not trouble themselves much as to fineness of apparel, behind him the members of the council in state coaches furnished by certain lords. The concourse of people was very great; wheresoever Cromwell came, a great silence; the greater part did not even move their hats. At the Guildhall was a great feast prepared for him, and at his table sat the Mayor, the Councillors, the deputies of the army, as also Cromwell's son and son-in-law. Towards the foreign ambassadors the Protector deports himself as a King, for the power of kings is not greater than his.

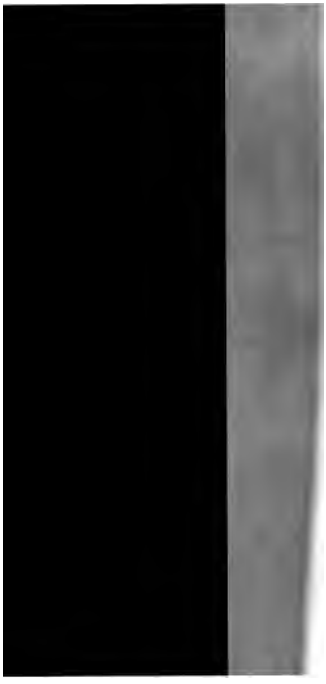
Jan. 1, 1654.—March 23, and May 16. Some say however he will assume the title and prerogatives of a Romish emperor. In order to strengthen his party he deals out promises to all parties. It is here,



against the present Government. The greater part of those returned are officers or connections of such; for the gentry has been cowardly enough to choose none but persons acceptable to the Protector; and the people, quite exhausted by the new taxes, has in like manner sent men of no consequence.

Sept. 13, and 17. As often as Cromwell at the opening of Parliament made mention of freedom and religion, a shout of applause was raised.

According to Cromwell's will those only should be admitted to the Parliament who should receive tickets of admission from himself, and many in fear allowed themselves to be satisfied with this exclusion; others, on the contrary, made their appearance and declared that as the country had done them the honour to choose them, it was their duty to serve it. When the Protector, to break such resistance, dissolved the Parliament, (Sept. 24, 1654,) the city remained quiet, for they are more afraid of civil war than of his unlimited sovereignty. It is true the Presbyterians contemplate a republic with a severe church discipline. In the mean time this will only make all more dependent upon him and the army, and at the utmost will bring about that he will not assume any other title or make his power hereditary. The officers enriched with the possessions of the King's friends



the King are murderers;
being so by law, those
thereof are traitors. Crom
only in case of extremity,
friends now assure that it
him to make his dignity her
who made a representation
have been driven away by h
are him with pleasure as
Jan. 7, 1653. No. 1157.

Cromwell has dissolved
proceedings. Feb. 1, 1653.
measure, and that he should
legislated by the Parliamen
runs counter to the laws, an
people.

All conspiracies directed a

has caused some advocates to be arrested, who had spoken too boldly against the levies ordered by him, (without consent of Parliament,) and certain other matters.

March 15 and 20, and June 3, 1655. The further proceeding was suspended, because they feared that the verdict might fall out as in the time of Charles I. Certain royalists have been executed, and two judges dismissed because they maintained that revolt against the present government was no cardinal offence. Great changes are moreover taking place in the departments of war and justice, and many persons are arrested on no other ground than that of having been attached to the King. June 24, 1655.

In order to maintain his consideration, Cromwell pretends great zeal for religion, in truth, however, he neither loves nor hates either confession. Those who think they know him best say, hypocrisy and knavery are his chief attributes. July 23, and Oct. 21, 1655. June 12, 1656.

He is often sick and troubled; for accounts from all parts of the country confirm that his plans meet every where with resistance, that people belonging to his court or the army fail at the elections, and that the Protector's greatest enemies are already chosen.

Aug. 23 and 30, 1656. Here in London, they have mixed soldiers among the citizens, in order to

assure the predominance to Cromwell's depe
In many places the people has shewn the
contempt for the persons recommended by hi
here and there the major-generals and aut
have not been able to carry through thei
without bloodshed. Sept. 11 and 21, 1656.

At the yesterday's opening of the Parl
Sept. 28, they prepared themselves by fasti
the arrest of suspected persons. Members
number of 160 to whom Cromwell had sent no
of admission were excluded by the soldiers
they had reinforced with fresh levies, and had
over by raising their pay. The greater nu
the officers believe that their maintenance d
upon the Protector, and that if the King or
ment had recovered their power, they would be
under prosecution for their former behaviour.

The gentry, the judges, and numberless
wish for the restoration of the monarchy, in
of which Lambert, Ireton, and Cromwell's tw
contemplate succeeding him in the sover
Oct. 12, Nov. 9, and Dec. 4. The latter, acc
to the judgment of many persons, are not cap
undertaking such a burthen. The eldest
Cromwell has devoted himself more to wine a
chase than to business; the younger is more d
but little respected, and still less loved.

LETTER LXXIV.

Comminges' description of England.

A DESCRIPTION of England in the year 1551, by the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini, has been already communicated, and may be followed up here by a second furnished by the Comte de Comminges in the year 1666, 115 years later, and six years subsequent to the restoration*.

The soil and ground gives the inhabitants of England a sufficiency of the necessaries of life, and they therefore have recourse to other countries only for superfluities, which they obtain in exchange for their cloths, the finest in Europe; for it is worthy of remark that they never suffer money to go out of their country in the course of trade.

They possess an utterly incredible number of great and small cattle, a true golden fleece, since it costs little to maintain them and almost nothing to

* MSS. de St. Germain. Vol. 741.

tend, they being left for the most part to stra
themselves over the pastures. I once asked my
in Salisbury, (in the neighbourhood of which the
cloths are prepared,) whether the herdsmen obs
any measure or system in the feeding of their h
and he replied: the most skilful observe but one
namely, they never allow the sheep to swill, bu
dew on the meads and pastures suffices to qu
their thirst, and this, according to the observati
many, is the real reason that the wool is
thicker, and longer.

The rich gentry possess many horses and a
themselves therewith in hunting and runnin
wagers, in which occupations they spend the gr
part of their time. Their residences are in ge
rather commodious than magnificent; but al
richly provided with food and wine to entertain
friends, and strangers to boot; at least, they pra
much hospitality.

There is hardly a gentleman who has not
three to four hundred bucks within a fence, an
lords have as many as from 12 to 1500 in
parks. There is abundance of birds and fish,
nowhere are better oysters found. The physic
recommend these to their patients, but cause t
to drink afterwards, to correct the indigestibi
from two to four good draughts of the best
strongest Spanish wine.

With respect to dress, the court always follows the French; in order however not to appear as mere imitators and devoid of invention, many of the younger add something of their own, which usually only increases the expense and exaggerates the fashion. If we for example wear thirty loops (galans) to our hose, they put on sixty, and thus in every thing.

If we speak of the English in the mass, we must call them brave, proud, overbearing, suspicious, and so vain that I believe them to be a match in this for the Spaniards. Their demeanour is insupportable to any man of spirit, and one must be very modest and tractable, in order to keep on even moderate terms with such as seem to be of the most respectable class *(les plus honnêtes gens)*.

The lower people are by nature inclined to theft, and if the severity of the laws were not brought in opposition, nothing would be in security.

Excesses in taverns and brothels pass among people of note merely for gallantries, and even women of good condition do not refuse a gallant to accompany him to drink Spanish wine.

A great proportion of their lords appear to be richer than they are. Some were ruined in the last war, and retained nothing more than their title, of which they are very vain. Others, following an

absurd customs, leave the management of their affairs to their stewards, who soon so establish themselves in their authority, that the master learns nothing, and by degrees, (as is seen in the most distinguished families,) becomes a servant of his servant's son. The middle gentry, (called the cavaliers,) possess the ground and soil of nearly the whole kingdom, inasmuch as they and their fathers have generally been farmers to the lords, make little expense, never go to court, or leave their counties. The young women do not lose their rank, if they marry a man of humble station, whence one often meets with instances of strange and ill assorted marriages.

Notwithstanding this mixture of good and evil, it may be mentioned, that this people is formidable at sea, and would, if to its strength were joined more

to the rules laid down by the learned. They think nothing of causing a king to be born in the first act, who fights a battle in the second, marries in the third, is made away with in the fourth, and is crowned a tyrant in the fifth*.

I have seen represented the entire life of Henry VIII. which is distinguished by so many marriages, misfortunes, and crimes. Cardinal Wolsey appears with his hat, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury with his vestment and coif, and I believe even with the pallium.

Boxing, partaking of something barbarous, is in common use, and enormous sums are staked at the cock fights. Young people of the best family pass entire days in this occupation, and the lords are not ashamed to mingle in this pursuit with the lowest and most infamous rabble. The King of England named to me, one who had in this manner lost a property of 10,000 jacobuses' annual income.

Thrice in the week there are fights, at a small price of admission, between dogs and bears, or bulls, and the public places are full of mountebanks and puppet shewers.

In addition to all these places of entertainment may be counted upwards of 200 houses, where the idle and dissolute assemble to take tobacco,

* This order of the words stands in the German text, and is, perhaps, an attempt at witticism in the writer. [Tr.]

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LETTER LXXV.

Military establishment and expenditure in the 16th and 17th century.

In a treaty of May 1575, with the Count Mansfeld and others, there are stipulations set down in unusual detail upon all the points which could come under discussion *. Among others we find: the soldiers are not to practise violence, to rob, plunder, burn or destroy in any fashion. They are not to do any violence to widows, women, girls, or children, not to attempt the chastity of nuns, not to curse, or take the name of God or his saints in vain.

By a treaty between Queen Elizabeth, and the United States of the Netherlands, of August 20th, 1585, the following rates of pay were established

* Pinart depeche. Bibl. Roy. Vol. 8807.

monthly, the pound sterling being rated florins *.

The Colonel General .....
His Lieutenant .....
The Sergeant-major .....
The Provost-marshal .....
The Quarter-master .....
Two Corporals of the army .....
Two Commissaries of provisions and transport .....
The Commander of the Artillery .....
The Treasurer .....
Twenty-six Companies at 150 men each, and at 150*l.* .....

By a French ordinance of November 24th, 1639, in winter quarters, a Gensdarme received daily 40 sous.

A Soldier of light cavalry	30
A Carbineer	20
A Maitre de camp monthly	100 livres.
The Almoner	72
The Surgeon	50

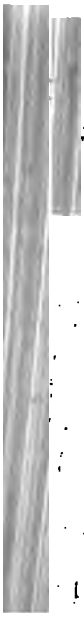


lard, grease, butter, eggs, sugar, spices, &c., nor were the fast days less richly provided for.

At a feast for the Knights of the Fleece, in December, 1545, there were three courses. To the first belonged: beef and mutton, hams and tongues, soups, calveshead, venison, with turnips, mashed pease, veal, hot swan, (signe chault,) goose, hens, turkeys, pies of cows' udders, and entremets.—Second course: breast of veal, roasted sausages, tripes, cutlets, ragouts and pies of venison and partridges, roast pheasants, capons and pigeons, birds of all kinds, &c. —Third course: peacocks, partridges, water-hens, brawn, hot pigeon pies, cold heron pies, blancmanger, clear jelly, roasted rabbits, and geese, roast mutton and entremets.

Hereupon followed: chicken pies, cold hens, cold venison pasties, the same of hare and partridges, wild-boar's head, cold swan, goose, pheasant, rabbit pies.—Finally: three sorts of jelly, three sorts of comfits, tarts with syrups, apples, pears, medlars, chesnuts, anise, cheese. After every thing, except the cloths were removed, there remained still wafers, biscuits, hippocras, and wine. At the commencement of the banquet, toasted bread (roustics seches) had been handed round.

In August, 1549, Queen Mary of Hungary gave a feast, of which Vandenesse relates the following.—



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many small lamps representing stars were fastened. In a corner were to be seen rocks, from which springs of fresh water burst forth, wine, hippocras, and perfumed waters. In another corner of the hall was seen a tower, which spat out fire and lightning, but the smoke was perfumed and the hail was sugar-plumbs. There now descended a table on four pillars covered with dishes of all kinds of baked meats. This was in an instant cleared by the numerous guests, it then sunk into the earth, thunder and lightning began again, and a second table, still more richly covered with marchpane and other things, descended and vanished like the first.

On the third table, which appeared after the third thunder, stood three laurel trees, to the leaves of which were fastened the arms of the Emperor and several lords. There stood at the side viands of many kinds in vessels of gold.—It was not till after nine days that the feasting, tourneying, running at the ring, which the Queen Mary had ordered in honour of her brother the Emperor and her nephew Philip, came to an end, and in fact she is an example to all ladies of virtue and decorum, as also in all inventions and serviceable devices.

Thus it went on in the Netherlands at the time of Charles V. When Vandenesse passed from his service to that of his son Philip, he had to record a festival

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LETTER LXXVII.

Dowries of Princesses in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries.—Ball of Queen Margaret of Valois.—Table of Henry IV.—Articles furnished for the table of Cardinal Aldobrandini.—Festival of peace at Paris in 1629.—Sentiments of the Clergy upon Dancing.

Isabella, daughter to Philip IV. of France, received on her marriage with Edward II. of England, in 1308, an outfit which cost 28,179 livres *. In it was included two crowns, one of the value of 700 and another of 600 livres, golden spoons, gold and silver drinking vessels, fifty silver porringers (escuelles), twelve great and twelve smaller dishes, &c. Dresses of gold stuff, velvet, Brussels cloth, changing taffety, (watered?) six trimmings of green cloth from Douay, six beautifully marbled, six of rose scarlet; various

* Negociations d'Angleterre. MSS. de la Bib. Roy., Vol. 34, p. 31. Chambre du Levant.

We find, again, 100 years later, a third outfit, that of Mary of England, who married Louis XII. of France. Among the numerous articles of all kinds included, there were also gold and silver images of the saints George, Edward, Thomas à Becket, Catharine, &c. Mention is made of a robe of purple velvet lined with gold stuff, of yellow gold stuff from Damascus, of silver stuff lined with crimson velvet, of gold stuff with a purple ground, of crimson satin embroidered with birds' eyes, Vol. 49, (peacocks?) &c.

The most detailed account of another outfit is found in the negociations d'Angleterre, in the marriage of Henrietta, &c. (Vol. 46—49. Vol. 49, p. 250,) with Charles I. of England in 1625. After mention of all which was provided under the head of precious stones and valuable ornaments, for chapels and altars there follows what appertains to the admirers of the chambers: a specification of stools, benches, chairs, chests, &c., most of them covered with velvet. Un grand lit consistant en six plantis et dossiers fonds cantonnières de parade et soubassement, le tout de velours rouge cramoisy, aux trois rideaux de Damas, quatre doubles pantis, et quatre grandes panaches de plumes blanches, deux courtis pointes, l'une de taffetas rouge cramoisy et l'autre de toile d'Hollande piqué. Dresses of all kinds and all colours, and stuffs, as black satin broidered with



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de mouton, sixteen of veal, carbonadoes not included, nineteen capons, twenty-four hens, pigeons and hazel hens, a turkey, twelve head of game, twenty-four pounds of lard, fruits, salads, &c. Besides this royal table, were others for the gentlemen, chamberlains, &c.

On the marriage of Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. with Charles I. of England, the number of their court attendants, the establishment of their table, &c. was made out—v. Colbert, Melanges, Vol. XI.:—She was to be furnished with five dishes for breakfast, twenty-four for dinner, and twenty-four for supper, entremets, dessert, and other things not reckoned. Her first two ladies reckoned each seven dishes daily, 100 livres maintenance, and 200 pension from the King. Four filles d'atour, each four dishes and fifty livres daily.

Two women of the chamber, fifty livres, and no special board other than such dainties as might remain over from the King's table. Six maids of honour, each ten livres and two dishes. The laundress twenty-four livres and two dishes. The physician 200 livres and five dishes, an apothecary twenty livres and three dishes, a cook fifty and five dishes, an advocate fifty livres, a proctor thirty, &c.

In another page it appears, that a master of the horse receives ten dishes and fifty pounds sterling,

four ecuyers dine with him and receive twenty pounds, a foot servant from six to ten pounds, and for his dress six pounds fifteen shillings.

Henry IV.* caused the Cardinal Aldobrandini, who accompanied Mary of Medici to France, to be furnished daily with forty-five dozen loaves, six barrels (barili) of wine, for his suite, twenty-six bottles for the cardinal's table, five sheep, 150 pounds of beef, two young calves, and sometimes one or two kids, from ten to twenty turkeys, but if more than thirteen were furnished, somewhat else was usually omitted; six or eight great, and thirty to thirty-six ordinary capons, eight or ten ducks, two herons, but not every day; six to ten partridges, nine to twelve snipes, twelve to fifteen field-fares, twenty-four larks, six rabbits, two to four hares, an ham, six black-pud-

bles, and the like in quantity. On fast days, twenty-five trouts, from two to thirty pounds; eight to ten pikes, from ten to twelve pounds, thirty other fishes, eight to ten golden carp, nine to twelve barbels, five to eight *cefali*, many other sorts of fish; thirty to forty pounds of oil, ten to twelve pounds of butter, and 200 eggs.

The following description occurs of a feast given at Paris in 1629, on occasion of the peace with England *. As soon as the King, Louis XIII., was seated, he invited the English Ambassador, Thomas Edmondt, to be so likewise, which instruction the latter followed, first making a deep obeisance to his Majesty. The comptroller, General Coquet, who had set upon the table the dishes appointed for the Ambassador, now presented him the napkin to wash, and also received it back. The King and the Ambassador were served with the same dishes, some thirty in number, fifteen of which were at each end of the table, and so disposed that the royal viands remained somewhat separate from those of the Ambassador.

The first service lasted very long, it consisting of nearly two courses, namely, of soups, all kinds of

* Mem. actes et traites avec Angleterre. MSS. Chambre du Levant.

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himself a little from his chair, and saluted the King of England in like manner.

Between the second and third courses, two baskets were set before the King and the Ambassador, with the finest china oranges and other fruits. As the Ambassador observed that the King made his over to the Queen-mother, he divided his share among the ladies who sat near him.

The cakes and pastry, remarkable for their excellence, may be considered as a fourth course, which was placed on table with similar solemnity. So soon as his Majesty perceived that his Excellency, from a kind of respect, was hesitating to assault a tart of great magnitude, which was before him, he cut a piece from his own, and made a shew of eating it, which enabled the Ambassador at once to recal and satisfy his appetite. The King after this sent his tart to the ladies of the Queen-mother, the Ambassador his to those of the reigning Queen. The last course consisted of preserved fruits and dry comfits.

After the meal was over, a wet napkin was handed to the King, as also to the Ambassador, to wash.—The King then made a pretty deep obeisance, and retired to his chamber, conversing with the Ambassador. During the meal the violins of the King played, and afterwards the hautbois and bagpipes *(musettes)* of Poitou.

At this time, as before and after, e
controversy upon the morality of dancing;
following opinion of certain Catholic eccle
authorities of the sixteenth century is exta
Germ. MSS. No. 1564, p. 268. The exerci
body, which takes place in decent dancing,
the first place, be healthy. We can also te
dance whether a person is in health, and has
poral defects, which it is very convenient f
to know who mean to marry. One is als
thereby aware whether a person be of a l
sleepy disposition, for one who is simple an
droit cannot dance well. Finally, at marria
festivals the young ladies know not what
about after dinner, or to what purpose they h

LETTER LXXVIII.

Espousals of Mary of Medicis with Henry IV.—Festivals in Lyons.—Reception of the Queen.—Her disposition.—French music.

AMONG the MSS. of the royal library, is a diary of the proceedings of the Cardinal Aldobrandini, drawn up by one of his suite named Ajucchio, who died Nuntio at Venice. It refers principally to the espousals of Mary of Medicis with Henry IV.,—her journey to France, &c.

1. Betrothal of Mary in Florence.—Thursday morning being the day appointed for the betrothal, the court and the nobility of Florence assembled in great pomp at the Palace Pitti; and all, so soon as the assembly was complete, put themselves in motion for the church of Maria del Fiore. First, the court attendants, then the Cardinal's suite, mixed up with other Florentines and court employés. There were

seen above 120 liveries of cloth richly embroi
with gold, or of gold stuff. Behind the cou
tendants rode the Grand Duke and the Legate
by side, under two baldaquins, (con due om
sopra,) next the prelates, and somewhat further
princes, ambassadors, and high nobility, in s
tuous apparel. Don Giovanni, for example, w
coat of violet velvet, embroidered with golden l
The carriage of the Queen followed next, in
she sat with the Grand Duchess, the Duche
Mantua, the Duchess of Bracciano, and the P
Behind them their ladies, and then seventy to e
carriages, with 241 young ladies, all dressed in
silver tissue. Lastly, fourteen old ones, wh
hung themselves with as much magnificence as

persons—all standing, and bareheaded, in honour of the King. The mass was sung, with excellent music, as at the espousals of the Queen of Spain, and a great number of cannon discharged. In the evening a truly royal feast was given in the Pitti palace. Before the principal table two bridges were suspended in the clouds, upon which stood gods and goddesses of heathen mythology, who sung several songs in honour of the betrothed pair.

On the evening of Monday, the 9th, was given a musical comedy, which, in respect of the scenery and interludes deserved much commendation; but the fashion of the singing easily begat ennui, and the motions of the machines were not, in all cases, successful.

2. Feasts at Lyons in honour of Mary.

Sunday, Dec. 17, 1600. All the people hastened to the cathedral, which, although the doors were beset, was quickly filled above and below, in the passages, choirs, and windows. Nay, the place before the church and the neighbouring streets were filled with men. The Legate was received by the French Cardinals and the Bishops. They had scarcely reached their places in the church, when the King and Queen also appeared, the princes and the nobility in the highest pomp, as such marriage solemnities require; then carriages, archers, Switzers



the other cardinals, of the ba
altar stood a chair and a be
and over them was a baldaqu
Here knelt the King and Qu
all the princes and officers.

The Legate read mass. A
elevation of the host, but mo
vocal, and without much h
Henry and Mary approached,
the usual ceremonies and pray
together. On the return, w
order, some money, but no
abroad.

There next followed a fe
archiepiscopal palace. Besi
richly ornamented table in t
placed along the wall. No
avenues were strongly occup
arrival of the King such a

long before they could reach their places at table.—In particular the Legate (who, as he had entered the church last, also left it last) was detained a good quarter of an hour before room could be made for him.

The ladies who sat at the middle table, reached their places the soonest; the gentlemen stood till the arrival of the dishes, and this lasted a good half hour, it being impossible to make a passage through the crowd. At last there appeared four drummers and eight trumpeters, sounding their instruments; then ten gentlemen of the household, with great yellow staffs, the heads of gilded silver, with the royal crown at top, and beautifully worked. Then came the Cardinal St. Paul, filling the place of the absent High Steward, the Count of Soissons, carrying in his hand an ornamented Indian staff, twined with gold, and headed with a crown and a fleur-de-lis. Then came the dishes. The first, for the King and Queen, were carried by the Prince of Conti and the Duke of Nevers; then followed persons less in rank, continually decreasing down to the cook. After the Steward had approached and made a deep obeisance, they retired on one side; but the table, which in the beginning, was entirely empty, was in this manner four times newly covered. Over the centre of the table hung a baldaquin of red velvet with golden

fringes, under which sat on the right the Qu
the centre the King, to the left the Legate;
the right, but at a certain distance, sat the Du
of Nevers and Guise, &c. The most distin
gentlemen undertook the office of cup-bearers

The dishes were, in our judgment, and
that of the French, of very coarse and ordin
scription, and if we except the decoratio
some minor delicacies, there was nothing ex
nary: great pieces of meat; some dishes ga
with vegetables; little order.

The first course commenced with some
fishes and a large boar's head, perhaps th
thing of all; at the end there was a failure
and nothing remained but cherries, and a few

this manner. At the table of the ladies several were forced to content themselves with a glass of wine, which had previously been tasted by the Switzers. It was a sport to see how the starving lords and ladies grasped at the dishes in order, in the general failure or insufficiency, to obtain something.

At the end a thanksgiving was sung by a good choir, then followed long conversations, all standing. At last the musicians made their appearance to commence the ball. Here is the place to say something of the dresses. On the morning, in the church, the Queen was royally arrayed with mantle and crown. The latter small, and covering only the points of the hair, richly adorned with precious stones, a golden lily on the top, and on that a diamond valued at more than 120,000 dollars. This crown becoming irksome to the Queen on account of its weight, and the value of the stone being spoken of, the King said: if the Legate would establish a peace, he would make over this diamond to him, otherwise he would spend its value on gunpowder. The Queen wore besides bracelets of diamonds and pearls, and diamonds about many parts of her dress, and especially at the fastening of the mantle. This was of lilac velvet, full of gold embroidered lilies, lined with ermine, and filled with a train so long and heavy that two persons had trouble to carry it.

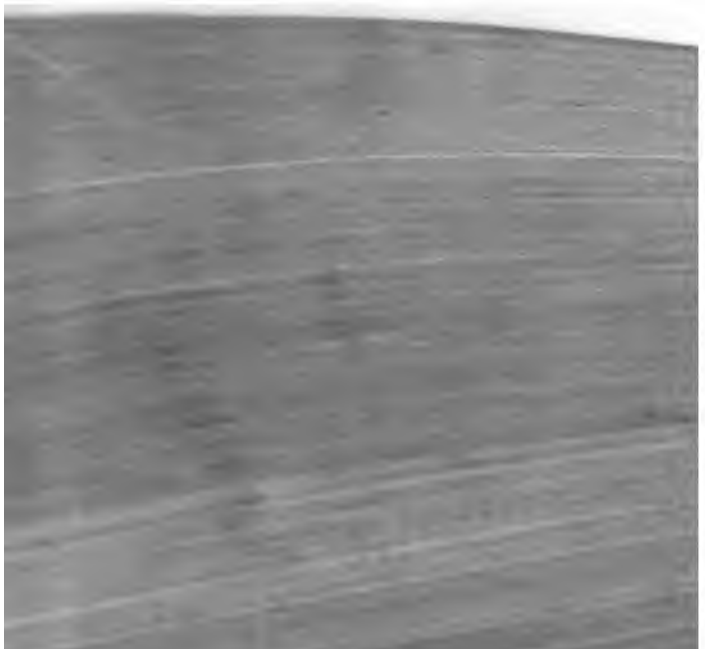
The Queen, by consent of the King, was
in the Italian fashion, and covered with
lilies, pearls, and precious stones. All beca
remarkably and she shewed so much grace a
jesty that she was considered, at least by the I
(qu. French) the handsomest of the females p
for the Countess of Amerque, the Duchess of
dour, and Mademoiselle Guise, the most distin
ed, did not come near her by far.

The apparel of the princesses and other ladi
very rich, but as (goffo) barbarous as it was sp
Some, for example, wore hoop petticoats of
cumference perfectly senseless, and out of a
portion with their little bodies. Their dresse
of various colours, carefully embroidered, but
patterns too minute and without good design.
newest fashion of head-dress is not unpleasin
resembles the Italian: pearls and diamonds
not spared, but heaped without order or taste
arms, shoulders, and head; the Italians, on th
trary, by more judicious distribution, made
effect with fewer materials. The men dress
selves in general much better than the women
in fact for the most part in the Spanish and I
fashion. Their embroideries, numerous and
and extremely refined as they were, presented n
theless the defects before mentioned: the desig

faulty, and every thing so little, overloaded, and confused, that it presented nothing clear to the eye, and the ground of the stuff could not be discovered. In Italy the neck is seldom so laboured but produces with half the cost a much greater splendour and display.

The King wore white unslashed hose without gold, (un colletto di pelle di fiori di Spagna guarnito di nero). A barett with an heron's plume, knot of pearl, and rose of diamonds, and over his dress the order of St. Esprit. The Switzers and pages were dressed in brown velvet; remarked nothing distinguished in the liveries of the other gentlemen.

Room was made as well as possible for the ball in the great saloon. The King began with the Queen a Chiarentana, which they call here the great dance, and which lasts a long time. Then followed an (Hillarda) galliard, in which ladies and gentlemen take one another alternately and first form a great circle. Then one places himself at the head and leads the others after his fashion until the passage of the music which belongs to him is over, and he is at the lower end. Then follows the 2d, the 3d, till all the gentlemen have undertaken the conduct and brought it to a conclusion. Next came a coranto, in which the gentleman, nearly running, leads his lady round in a circle, and to the place where he



elevated in rank, she can scarcely pass a moment free from tedious society, the servants press even into her chamber; at table, and elsewhere, she is treated in an homely fashion (alla domestica); is not seldom obliged to pass on foot from one place to another; and is often in difficulties on account of the bad behaviour of her Italian servants. These, however, are trifles, and I believe it troubles her more that the King shews her little tenderness, and it is openly said that his Majesty is not too well satisfied with her. To this must be added that he never remains long in one place, that she must accompany him everywhere, and he then deports himself towards her with familiarity and homeliness, bordering in her apprehension on contempt. Within a few days, however, she appears more cheerful, takes courage and accommodates herself better to this free behaviour. Thus the King has taken her with him to supper and a play, and to the chase, and she will it is to be hoped accustom herself more and more to the persons and way of life. On the other hand, the name and house of Medicis has been so hated here since the time of Catherine, that the Queen will have great difficulties to contend with, and would perhaps have been happier had she espoused some prince of her own country.

4. The French music, and the King's chapel at



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temporal; forty-three ladies; twenty chamberwomen and maids of honour; thirty chaplains and serviteurs aux armes; ninety-two women of service; 901 persons for the service of the stable, and guard of the King and Queen; gentlemen in service, 1516; other followers 3414. In all 5072 persons with 2865 horses.

Wolsey alone had with him seventy-two gentlemen and chaplains, 238 other servants, and 150 horses. In like manner an Archbishop had with him fifteen gentlemen and chaplains; 110 servants, sixty horses; seven marquesses or earls; five bishops; twenty barons; seventy knights, &c. The Lord Marshal Essex had, as an Earl, forty-two servants and twenty-two horses, and on account of his office 100 horses more and 130 servants.

Inasmuch as all this appears in the highest degree excessive, says King Henry, let the number of followers be limited, and neither King Francis nor myself will allow any one to bring with him a greater number of followers.

A festival held by Queen Elizabeth, in the spring of 1581, at Hampton Castle, appears to have presented greater variety and attraction.

On both sides, and at either end of an extensive place scaffolds were erected for the numerous spec-

tations *. First appeared forty lords and gentlemen, very richly dressed and adorned with jewels, on Italian and Spanish horses sumptuously caparisoned. Then eight heralds who bore the arms of England, and four trumpeters dressed in yellow and red velvet. Four Marshals and Judges of the lists, accompanied by seven gentlemen. Then the four lords of combatants, viz., first, the Earl of Arundel. Several of his people marched in advance of a kind of platform of painted linen, and drawn upon wheels. Beneath were concealed singers and musicians; upon it were seen two cannons with bulwarks and gunners, who fired off balls lighted with spirituous and perfumed liquors. Behind this platform rode six trumpeters dressed in red and yellow satin, with red, white, and yellow plumes. Six pages in embroidered velvet of

[redacted]

raised work of leaves and flowers, and a *shirt* of mail (bas de saye) richly adorned with gold and pearls. After him thirty men in vest and hose of yellow velvet, with upper vest of crimson velvet without mantles. Two pages and four grooms.

The troop of the Earl of Arundel was followed by that of the Earl of Windsor. Four trumpeters on horseback, with orange suits, vest and hose of white and red satin; large plumes of the same colour. Twenty gentlemen on foot, the same colours, mantles of orange velvet, gold chains about the neck. They carried lances; the arms and mottoes of their master covered with tiffany.

There follows similar descriptions of the troops of other gentlemen. The four troops having run the entire career with lances in rest and closed visors, drew themselves up in order before the Queen. An antique tower was now rolled forward by machinery, at the top of which was a triangular golden lantern with a light burning. Out of an opening in the tower a great snake rolled itself, which attempted to climb certain trees at the side richly laden with fruit. Behind the tower went six eagles, well counterfeited, but with feathers of various colours. In the interior of each eagle were concealed trumpeters and other musicians who played to admiration. Then followed two horses without saddles, all gilded over, and upon each was mounted

an Irish youth with his long flowing hair also
and dressed in loose flying silver tiffany.
knights, trumpeters, pages. Then a triumpl
which to appearance moved backwards, and
the sisters the Fates, who held prisoner in
golden chain, a knight who wore a suit of
velvet and golden armour. Behind, musician
wide sleeves, great false beards, and high
Then a knight, &c. Next to him a learne
tor, who shewed him the picture of a lady, and
the knight looked towards it sighing, the
comforted him with gestures, and promised hi
fortune.

Every knight, as he passed, saluted the
who was placed with the Dauphin and the

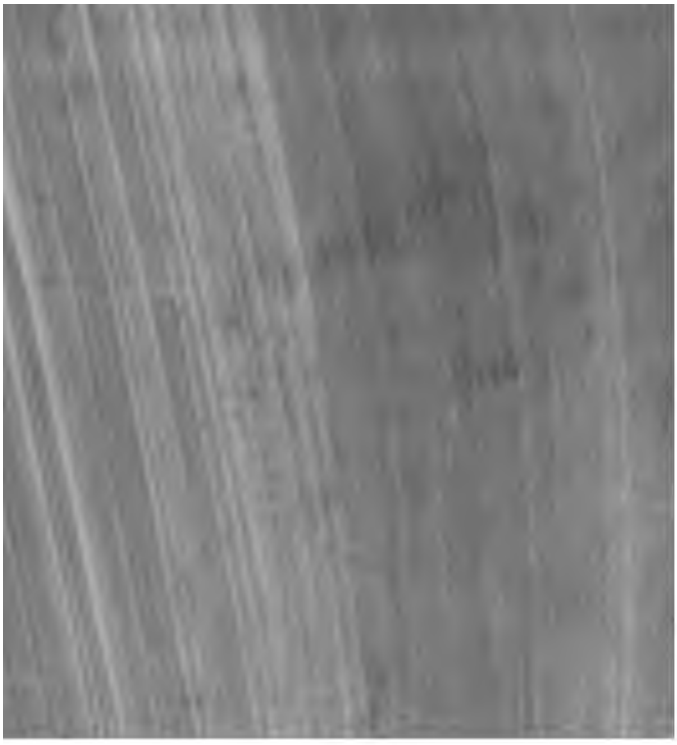
LETTER LXXX.

Festivals on the arrival of the Duke of Savoy at Saragossa in 1585, and at the baptism of the Infant Balthazar, 1629.

THE following account* of a festival given on the reception of the Duke of Savoy by Philip II., in Saragossa, in 1585, is given here as illustrative of Spanish festivals and solemnities.

The Viceroy of Arragon, who had been sent to meet the Duke on the frontier of Catalonia, announced on the 9th of March to the King, that the latter meant to lodge for the night two miles from Saragossa. On the morning of the 10th, (it was the first Sunday in Lent,) a great part of the nobility and people of Saragossa went out to meet the Duke, but between three and four in the afternoon, the King mounted an horse without trappings or any

* From the despatches of the French Ambassador Longlie. St. Germain MSS. Vol. 796. p. 74.

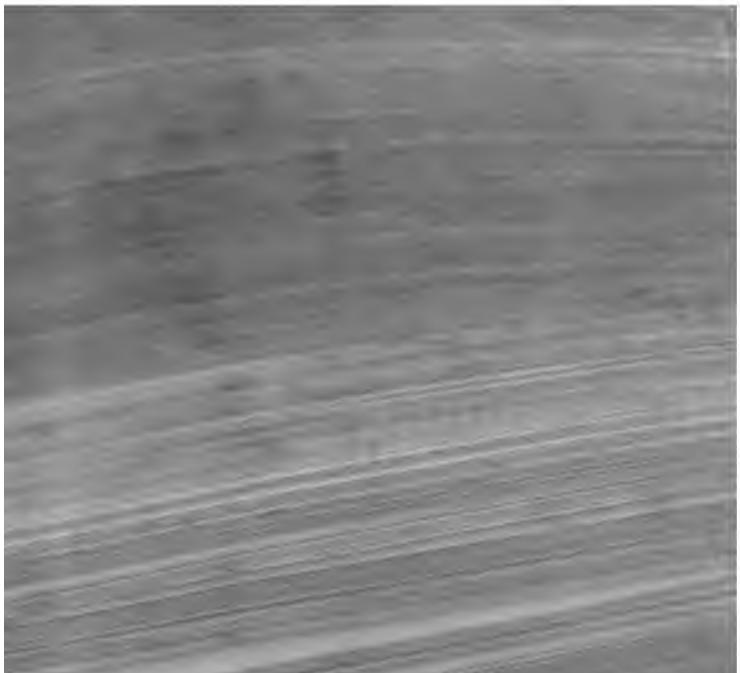


presented to the Infante and the Infantas. He then made a toilette himself, and was forthwith afterwards, in the presence of the whole court, the Cardinal Granvelle officiating, betrothed to the Infanta Catalina. Hereupon the King went to table alone, the Duke with the Infantas, and after the banquet was a ball.

On Monday the solemn espousals took place, but the feasting, tournaments, running the ring, tilting, &c., lasted from fifteen to twenty days, on all which the young Spanish nobility lavished much money.

This description, by a Frenchman, is left far behind by a Spanish work entitled, "Faithful description of the great festival which took place at Madrid in 1629, on the occasion of the baptism of the Prince Balthazar." On Sunday, November 4th, a May morning rose upon Madrid, succeeding a whole week of March wind and April rain. But the king of the planets chose to solemnize this day, and to shew himself to the court without a curtain*. The water hung suspended in the air, the wind was hushed, fire descended on the earth, and heaven suffered itself to be robbed thereof. There came

* In the Spanish, this conveys a pun. Ofreciendose a la vista de la corte sin cortina.



From preparations of such magnitude many drew accumulated profit, building not mere scaffolds, but houses with much timber work, of which no one had the use without sacrifice of his money. From the solemnity of the day and the number of the people which Madrid includes, we may easily conjecture the number of those who assisted at this transaction, and with how much more right the square of the palace might groan under such a burthen, than the boat of Acheron under that of Æneas.

The curiosity of so many people was not left to waste itself, as at about half past three their sight was fed in the following order:—at the going out from the palace, all the councillors were seen ranked according to rule, and placed according to their dignities, viz., France, India, the orders of knighthood, Aragon, the Inquisition, the Royal signet, all the cavalry of the court, so rich, so dazzling, so sumptuous, that there was no colour that had not its worth, and no object of attire which had not contributed to please.

The conduct of ingeniously contrived devices of taste excited emulation and an endless variety, and every thing before thought impossible, found itself in one day brought into execution, and was glad to have lost its hope for the future, inasmuch it was arrived in one day at an happy completion.



the infant Don Carlos,—whose sumptuosity of apparel demands from an historian of splendour an entire volume. The Queen, walking without mantle, supported herself with her right hand on the head of a page; and with the left she was led by her brother. Donna Margaretha di Tadora, first lady of the household, carried the train, then the procession was joined by all the ladies in gowns with splendid ruffs, and accompanied by many and distinguished lords. Here the precious stones of the east, and the precious metals of the west, found their point of meeting in such quantity as to keep the secret of the apparel without betraying the colour of the stuff on which they were laid.



LETTER I

Journey of the Great Mogul Jeha
September, 1638.

A Pilgrimess has left a d
journey of the Great Mogul,
ing is extracted.

The Great Mogul, whos
language. Pacia Suggiani, c
having determined to chang
gave order to the astrologers
appearances of the heaven
should choose for his abod
moved by fortune, he sho

be doubted. The Mogul, so soon as he heard this, in order that the number of his attendants might not be excessive, and scarcity ensue of provisions, determined what princes, officers, and servants should accompany him, and ordered two instalments to be disbursed to them, that money might not be wanting to supply the necessary carriages, beasts of draught, provisions, tents, &c., and to prepare themselves completely within six weeks for breaking up. In like manner were the princes and great men instructed to disburse to their subordinates from one and a half to two instalments for the same purpose. As soon as this was known, the markets were filled with provisions of all kinds, and after the Mogul had chosen and paid for what suited him, the turn of purchase came for all the others.

At the same time the Mogul went into his seraglio, selected from among his women those who pleased him most, and ordered them to make the necessary preparations for travel. Each one in accordance with this order, chose according to her rank and dignity more or fewer slaves and eunuchs, some as many as 500. Those who were employed in sewing, embroidering, and the like, were conveyed on horses and camels, the women of the Mogul, on the contrary, on elephants, and one only preferred to be conveyed in a palankeen. For

this purpose the Mogul caused 800 female elephants to be collected from their pastures in the neighbourhood of Agra; 600 male on the other hand were appointed to guard the others, of which each bore on his back a wooden tower with the soldiers appertaining. The latter are armed partly with bows and arrows, partly with musquets. Two pieces of brass artillery, each five feet long, are pointed in front of every tower, and two others to the rear, and are loaded either with one large ball or several smaller. The greatest and handsomest elephants were appointed to the guard of the Mogul and to carry his arms and banners; many thousand camels were laden with the most various articles, with arms and munitions of war, with dresses, house and kitchen furniture, &c. In like manner, every great man had with him

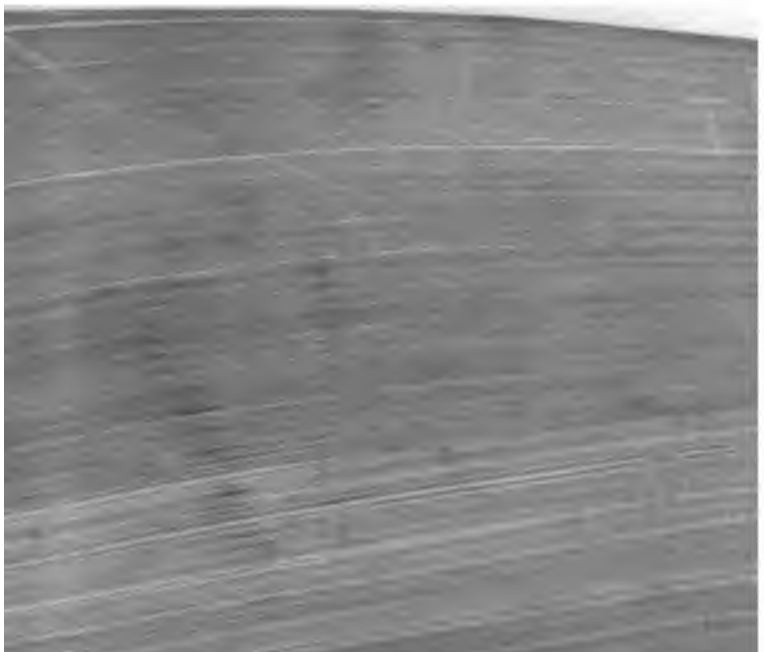
it to wash himself. Many are convinced that their soul has the happiness to be destined to enter the body of a cow so soon as they shall have passed three times through that purifying process. The cow is worshipped, and one of their saints had a trance, in which he saw God Almighty riding on a cow, and his wife and son upon other beasts, objects of veneration. If God shew such honour to the cow, it follows that he judges souls of the highest sanctity alone worthy to enter the body of that animal. The cow enjoys in India a happy existence. She is tended in case of sickness in hospitals set apart for her, and is fed with fruits, wholesome herbs, sugar-cane, and other dainties. Birds and some other animals are treated in like manner.

Five thousand persons were appointed to pitch the tents, to fix the tent poles, thirty yards each in length, and to carry trenches round the tents. Ten thousand persons, armed with sword, shield, bow and arrows, served for the lading and unlading of the elephants, camels, oxen and other beasts. They march always at the side of the latter, in order that nothing may be lost, give out the tents and receive them again, watch the herds, &c. It were altogether too long to describe how many thousand men and beasts were put in motion for this journey of the Mogul and his suite, on which account, in fear lest

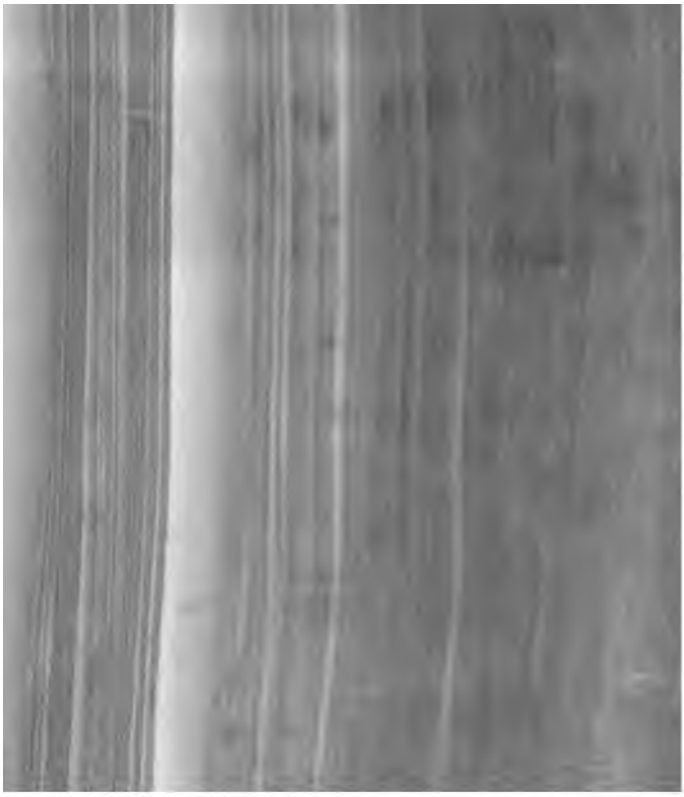
provisions should fail, he instructed his father-in-law not to depart till some months later. The same command was issued to the company of the goldsmiths, very numerous, and held in much consideration at the court. In the Indian tongue, they are called Carcena. Out of apprehension also that their works, which they were ordered to take altogether with them, might come into danger on the long journey, they confided them to the head of their society called the Deroga.

The first born son of the Mogul followed him with his women, children, and a very numerous court, as also his two younger brothers, of whom one already was invested with the kingdom of Doltaba as an appanage, which kingdom was obtained three years since by intrigue, upon the death of its king.

every wish into execution, and has already provided great appanages for her sons. Before the Mogul lived with her, she was married to a Prince named Rafercan who was in high favour. When the Mogul conceived his passion for her and wished to find a pretext and excuse for it, he sent for the Mufti and told him that he possessed a garden, and would fain know whether he might dispose of the fruits thereof at his pleasure. The Mufti, not guessing what snare was laid for him, gave for answer: if the garden be your own, the fruit belongs to you. That is sufficient, replied the Mufti. He sent for his daughter and proposed to her to sleep with him, the Mufti having given his permission. The daughter agreed, and on the next morning, the Dervise who, according to custom, attended to recite the morning prayer, was told he must remain without the door, as the Mogul was still lying with his daughter. When at last he was risen, the Dervise told him he had committed a great sin, but received for answer that every thing had happened by permission of the Mufti. Hastening to the latter, he received an absolute denial that the Mufti had ever said a word on the subject or accorded such a permission. The Mogul, however, now summoned the Mufti, and asked him how he could deny having given such permission. Do you not remember my ques-



other smaller ones, were every time carried forward in great haste, in order that before the arrival of the Mogul every thing might be duly set in order. The walls of the royal tent were more than a mile in diameter and three in circumference. They consisted without and within of strong painted canvass, held together with Indian cane, so that not even a musquet ball could penetrate them. The height was from two and a half to three fathoms, and at every twenty or thirty paces was planted a wooden pillar fastened with several ropes, that the force of the wind might not upset it. In the middle of this circumvallation was the Mogul's own tent, of incredible magnificence. In spite of its enormous height and breadth, it was made entirely of the finest cloth, and within of silk and painted canvass, and was set up and fixed in the same manner as the fence above described. The principal division might be compared to a great square, in the centre of which stood the throne of the Mogul, where twice in the week he gave public audience, and listened to complaints, surrounded, however, by his guards. There were besides several chambers and partitions, in which the great men assembled, for private audiences of the Mogul, for his eating, sleeping, &c. Round the tent of the sovereign, stood the tents of the women, the eunuchs, the court attendants; the tent of his



This procession lasted till day-break; then
ill the hour of nine, elephants, camels,
ggons, and baggage. Then appeared some
captains of the royal guard, on horseback
with women and children; then several
ith a still larger following of every kind,
foot, elephants and camels, women and
laves and eunuchs, carriages and litters,
e of the latter were covered with silver or
meat and drink was likewise carried about
vessels. About midday the royal guard
in motion, and was joined by the elephants
King's baggage and women: 800 female
were almost exclusively employed for the
nce of the tents and other necessaries; then
100 elephants arrayed for war, with towers
illery; then eighty others with towers gilded
ered, in which were the women of the Mogul.
ir side rode their female attendants upon the
horses richly plumed and caparisoned. Others
wo and two upon camels with small wooden
s on their backs, in which the inmates could
nd, or sleep. Round about were to be seen
hs, grooms, and leaders of the camels and
, who took heed that the street should be clear,
hat the motion of the procession should be
rrupted. Next came the royal pages richly



caparisoned with [illegible] c
ings. Several carried sumpt
down to the ground. T
elephants came not a few y
and gambolled with the p
mischief. Measures, howev
too great a press of the peo
tion was insufficient they
blows.

At the hour fixed by th
came forth from the palac
years: the elephant appea
three times with his tr
instant there sounded trum
drums, and all the artillery
one thought the world wa
elephant at the same time
knee, for the convenience o
The tower and all the a

sat its driver; behind the tower an eunuch in great favour with the Mogul, provided with a great vessel full of gold. The Mogul had a fair and majestic appearance, and also his little son, armed with bow and arrows, made a goodly appearance on his elephant. Behind them went eight elephants in like array as subsidiaries, and 200 horses with silver ornaments and housings of gold tissue, and great plumes, led by royal pages. Then followed sixty Arabian horses of such beauty and excellence, that one of them cost from 4000 to 6000 crowns. Their saddles and frontlets were richly adorned with pearls and precious stones, and their plumes were no less brilliant. The Mogul often diverts himself with seeing them mounted, on which occasions none of the riders make use of a stirrup.

At last the elephant of the Mogul put itself in motion with a solemn and serious pace. The war music again struck up, the artillery was again discharged, the eunuch flung gold to the right and left, and from all sides they shouted, live the King, health to the King. Those, however, who did not remove from his path received blows, and no one was suffered at the windows or on the battlements of the houses, for no one, it is held, ought to be higher than the Mogul. At his side rode a nabob in high favour, then several princes, and among them the one to



and, like the M
shouts of appla
things, two obl
persons were co
with gold and
mirrors. Then
seven persons, o
second throne of
then again camels,
The Mogul caus
year, in order to
heavier or lighter.
golden scale, and pr
are laid in the opposi
The procession of
eight miles long, (qu.
seven broad. A part
with fighting the Pers
120,000 men with

present to the throne, contrary to the intentions of the deceased; drove out the prince Bolaschi, and caused the others to be put to death. Assafcan is a friend of the Christians, and so enormously rich, that as often as the Mogul pays him a visit, he presents him with 200,000 crowns in pearls, precious stones, and other rarities. The Mogul is accustomed to go to him every week, partly to show observance to the old man, aged seventy, partly to carry off the presents above mentioned.

THE END.

G. Woodfall, Printer, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.

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